THE PRESENT FRENCH KING Drawn to the Life;

OR A

RELATION

OF THE

Many *Stratagems*, *Jesuitical Devices*, and *Diabolical Policies*, that he at this time makes use of to aggrandize himself;

THE

Imitation whereof, prov'd so Fatal

TO THE LATE

K. JAMES:

WHEREBY,

All that are in Arms in *IRELAND*, may take Caution that they are not likewise deluded.

LONDON,
Printed, and are to be Sold by *R. Baldwin*, near the *Black Bull* in the *Old Bayley*, 1690.

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THE Present Politicks OF FRANCE, AND THE MAXIMS OF LEWIS XIV. Laid open to *EUROPE.*

GReatneſs of Birth is not the chiefeſt character of diſtinction between Princes and other Men, but Wiſedom and good Conduct. How many do we ſee, who, being endued with a mean portion hereof, do make no conſiderable figure in Hiſtory, but only ſerve to fill up a Genealogy? Inſomuch that the day of their birth and that of their death are in a manner the only remarkable circumſtances to transfer their memory to Poſterity. On this innate temper or diſpoſition of the Sovereign depends the happineſs or misfortune of the Subjects.

Woe to thee, O Land! (saith the Wise-man) *when thy King is a Child, and thy Princes eat in the morning. Blessed art thou, O Land! when thy King is the Son of Nobles, and thy Princes eat in due season, for strength and not for drunkennesse.*

The Nation of the *Jews* was happy under the reigns of *David*, and *Solomon*; but *Rehoboam* their Successour spake to them in quite different terms, *My father made your yoke heavy, and I will add to your yoke; my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions.*

Augustus Cæsar was called the Father of the *Roman* People, but *Nero* was branded with the title of a Butcher. *Philip* II. was born of a wise Father, who reigned with general applause; but he, thirsting after bloud, did not so much as spare his own kindred, and quickly lost that which *Charles* the Fifth had gained with a great deal of prudence and glory. *Francis* I. was the admiration of the *French*, and the love of the Nobility; he acquired the title of a Prince mercifull in peace, and victorious in war, and was styled the Father and Restorer of good Literature, and of the liberal Arts and Sciences; but *Charles* IX. was stigmatised as a Murtherer.

Henry IV. was sirnamed the Great, by reason of his glorious actions; he was the Father and the Delight of his People, and his debonnaire and generous temper promised an happy Reign, had he not been untimely cut off by an execrable hand.

Lewis XIII. was sirnamed the Just, without doubt according to the rule of the Gospel, that assures us, that *blessed are the poor in spirit*, and that *theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven*; however for the most part the Genius of Cardinal *Richelieu* was predominant over his own.

Lewis XIV. did not shew his inclinations as long as he was tutour'd by the Queen his Mother, and under the *ferula* of Cardinal *Massarine*; but as soon as this last was dead, and he was released from Guardianship, his Flatterers gave him the name of Great, in imitation of his Grand-father, though he never yet deserved that title. It is true that he is great in Ambition, and a great Usurper of his Neighbours Territories, a great enemy to the See of *Rome*, and of the Pope, and a great Persecutor of the *Huguenots*. His Reign seems but one great Monopoly, and his *Coups d'ors* are the surest Keys to open the Gates of his Conquests. He was born in arms, and his first nourishment was the bloud that he drew himself from his Nurses; his ambitious spirit easily sacrificed a part of his people to satisfie his lust and grandeur. Woe to thee, O Land! that groanest under the burthen of

of ſuch a Prince, and to the People that are enſlaved under his Dominion Under the Reign of *Antiochus* the Illuſtrious, the *Jews* cried often to God, that he would deliver them from the Oppreſſour: Why may not the *French* alſo make the ſame requeſt, and even all *Europe*, to be delivered out of the hands of this Uſurper.

Lewis the Great thought already to hold the Sceptre of the Monarchy of *Europe* in his hand, ever ſince the Siege of *Vienna*, when he ſaw that City within a hair's breadth of deſtruction, which he looked on as inevitable, as being founded on the Propheſies of *Drabicius*: but finding this way ſtopt up, he hath had recourſe to his former tricks and methods; he waits with great impatience for what may be produced from thoſe Nets he hath laid ever ſince the Marriage of the Queen of *Spain*. Man may propoſe, but Heaven diſpoſeth: Time weakens the faculties of the mind as well as thoſe of the body, and Princes are often forced to leave the accompliſhing of thoſe Deſigns to their Succeſſours that they could not bring about themſelves; and ſo much the rather in regard that Divine Providence, on which Princes depend as well as the reſt of Mankind, doth not mete out things here below after the meaſure of their ambition. The ambitious man nevertheleſs often builds Caſtles in the air, and would fain, inſtead of eight or ten feet of Land that he hath occaſion for, ſtand poſſeſſed of the whole Earth. This itch is at this day predominant in *France*, and this is that which entirely ſeizeth on the mind of *Lewis* XIV. as we ſhall ſee hereafter, as alſo the means that he makes uſe of to compaſs his ends.

The Policy of France, *and its Maxims, with reſpect to* Europe *in general.*

Spain was heretofore accuſed of aſpiring to an univerſal Monarchy; if ſo, I am apt to believe that *Philip* II. began to loſe thoſe hopes, when he ſaw the Sea and the Winds to conſpire againſt his Deſigns, and that his Fleet that he named the Invincible, in which he thought to have tranſpor-

ted the *British* Isles into *Spain*, &c. was set all on fire, and that his best Troops therein embarqued served only to fight with the Waves, and to be food for the Fishes of the Sea: besides that, during the whole War with the Low Countries, a handfull of Men (whom out of derision he called Beggars) had always made head against him, and also discomfited his Forces in several rencounters, till at length in the year 1609, he was obliged to demand quarter, in order to make a truce with the United Provinces, and to acknowledge them for Free States. This was a very bitter Pill, and of hard digestion for a Prince that was arrived to that highth of ambition; yet he was forced to swallow it, and it wrought so violently on him, that he thereupon lost Seven Provinces, and a part of his Dominions in the *Indies*. Thus this covetous desire of an universal Monarchy began to abate, partly by reason of his age, that had lost its first heat and vigour, and partly through the ill success of all his enterprises. *Philip* III. was not more fortunate, and *Philip* IV. having sustained great losses on the side of *France*, and of the Low Countries, was glad to make a peace, and to acknowledge those that had been his own Subjects as a Free and Sovereign Common-wealth, depending on none but God.

Charles II. now reigning, is a good Prince, who loves his ease, and without doubt would very willingly renounce all the pretensions of his Ancestors to an universal Monarchy, to obtain a Son that might succeed him in the Crown of *Spain*. *Malherbe* said heretofore, that if it were true that *Spain* aspired to an universal Monarchy, he would advise its King to beg of God to defer the end of the World. This distemper of *Spain* being cured, it passed into *France*, but this latter being wiser, doth not aim at so much, and the Ambition of their King is bounded only within *Europe*; an attempt worthy so great a Prince, who having considered it so well could hardly demand less. It behoves their Neighbours to observe their motions, for it is certain that *France* cannot aggrandize it self without encroaching on those that are next, as we see it put in practice daily. When the House of *Austria* first made appear their design on the Universe, all the Princes of Christendom rose up against them, and mutually entred into League to hinder it. *Charles* V. after the Battel of *Pavia*, wherein *Francis* I. King of *France*, was taken Prisoner, thought he had gained the point, but was afterwards undeceived: The Pope, the King of *England*, the *Venetians*, the Duke of *Florence*, and the *Switzers*, joined in League together against him, to hinder that Emperour from subduing *France*, and consequently the rest of *Italy*. This was not out of any affection that the Pope and

and the King of *England* bore to the French King, that they united together for his relief, but becauſe *Charles* V. was become too great, and would have willingly made himſelf Maſter of the whole World. Since this itch hath at preſent paſſed into *France*, all the Princes of *Europe* have for ſome time acted quite contrary to thoſe meaſures that their Anceſtours took in the Reigns of *Charles* V. and *Philip* II. and inſtead of oppoſing, have furthered, and doe yet concur with the deſign of *France*, ſome through ſloth, and others through fear. The Princes of the Houſe of *Naſſaw* only have always proved fatal to all thoſe that have had a mind to aſpire to this abſolute Monarchy of the World. Do you not admire with me the ill Polity of moſt of the Princes and States of the World, to behold, without any concern, the King of *France* advancing ſo faſt, and taking *Luxembourg*, a Town of ſo great importance to *Europe*. The Prince of *Orange* alone hath ſtood in the breach of the Low Countries; but not being able to doe any thing of himſelf, he was obliged to retreat. The King of *France* could not have took it, if *England* and the States had jointly oppoſed it. That he hath nothing now to doe but to boaſt of it, is a truth well known to all the World. He knew ſo well how to gain the King of Great *Britain*, that he gave his conſent for the taking of that which did not belong to him; and he was ſo well skilled in amuſing the others with illuſory promiſes of an univerſal peace after the taking of the Town of *Luxembourg*, that they let him doe it. And that great and valiant Captain, (a creature of his) the Marquiſs of *Grana*, Governour of the Low Countries, was advanced to that charge, only on account of thoſe means he had propoſed to the Court of *Spain* for the better maintaining that important place, ſo neceſſary to *Spain* for the preſervation of the Low Countries, by the aſſiſtence of *Germany*; and although he ought to have took care of nothing ſo much as the ſecurity of this Town, his own honour, as well as his duty and intereſt to the King his Maſter, obliging him thereto; yet inſtead of that this big-belly'd Monſter put but a pitifull Garriſon of 12 or 1500 Men therein, when there ſhould have been 4000, and pretended to guard with his Troups the Town of *Namur*, and other places that were Barrier-towns, which *France* never durſt attack. Is it not to be confeſſed then, that ſuch a Man as this promoted the grandeur of *France*, and the deſign of *Lewis* IV? When this ſame King in the year 1667. had undertook the Conqueſt of *Flanders*; *England*, *Swedeland*, and the States of the United Provinces, being in a League together by the triple alliance, made him quickly change his purpoſe, forced him to withdraw, to make a

peace

Peace with *Spain*, and to restore a part of that which he had unjustly wrested from them; the same thing would have happen'd, if the nighbouring Princes had done so when he besieged *Luxembourg*. *Resist the Devil, and he will flee from you.* But the craft and subtilty of *France* had sufficiently experienced how much this League was to its prejudice, insomuch that they never rested till they had drawn this thorn out of their foot, and, as opportunity served, they knew so well how to blind *England*, that they got it disengaged from the triple knot. *Europe* may thank Madam the Dutchess of *Portsmouth* for this, who like a *Dalilah* passed from *France* into *England* to lull a sleep the *Samson* of that Kingdom. *France* hath been so well provided with pretences and fair speeches, that in the beginning of the Reign of *Charles* II. King of great *Britain*, partly by promises, and partly by money, they got into their hands the Town of *Dunkirk*, that was of the greatest consequence to *England*, since it gave an entrance to *Picardy* and *Flanders*. It is not only of late that *France* hath been troubled with this itch of Invading their neighbours countries, and of extending their Dominion from one end of *Europe* to the other: Monsieur *de Rohan* said heretofore, that Princes commanded the People, but that Interest commanded Princes; he would have added without doubt, if he had lived in these times, more especially *Lewis* XIV. King of *France*; every day produceth fresh examples hereof, since all times are alike for the satisfaction of his ambitious humour, whether there be War, Peace, or Truce. Interest is the evil Angel that hath been predominant for a long while in *France*. It is Recorded in History that *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* purposing to make a Voyage to the Holy Land, and for that end having occasion for monies, sold several of his Towns and Lands, amongst others the City of *Metz*, with the countrey of *Messin*, which the Citizens and Inhabitants thereof bought of him, for the Summe of one hundred thousand Crowns. They have enjoyed their purchase till the year 1551. when *Charles* V. persecuted the Protestants of *Germany*. *Henry* II. King of *France*, then pretended to send succours to the Protestants of *Germany*. In short, he dispatched the Constable of *Montmorency* with forty thousand men, under colour of this expedition; but it was for a different design, as the sequel will make it appear. He demanded entrance into the City of *Metz*, that was for the most part of the same Religion with those that were molested in *Germany*, and kept not good correspondence with the Emperour. They granted to the King very chearfully all that he demanded of them for the passage of his Troups; and for a farther proof of their good will, these honest People had caused Tables to be spread in the streets, and furnished with victuals to make the

Soldiers

Soldiers eat and drink as they passed along, with other testimonies of their amity and rejoycing : But, alass! their laughter was soon turned into mourning : For as soon as the Constable, who was received by the Magistrate with all the marks of honour and respect, was entred into the City, he feigned himself to be taken with a violent fit of the Gout, and to be tortured with sharp pains; he declared he had a mind to make his Will, not knowing what might befall him in the War he was a going to undertake, and desired the Magistrate of the City, and all the principal Nobility, that they would be pleased to assist as witnesses. In the mean time he had given orders to two of the chief Collonels to take up their Post, one at the gate through which the Troups enter'd, and the other at that through which they were to go out; he commanded the first to cause that part of the Army to advance that was yet behind, and the other to cause those to re-enter who were already gone out. Then the Constable looking round about his Bed on the Magistrate, and the principal Gentlemen, waiting for his orders, rose up on a sudden out of his bed, like an enraged Lyon, and buried his Ponyard in the breast of the Major of the City. At a signal that he gave, his Guards entred and assassinated in the Chamber all the Nobility that were there present; and at the same time the Army that had broke in, cryed out, *The City is taken.* It was pillaged, and put under the dominion of the King, and of an Allie became a Subject; and this was a bloudy Conquest for *Henry* II. Behold the Policy of *France*!

Lewis XIII. not knowing how to make himself master of *Lorrain*, by the advice of Cardinal *Richlieu*, a most crafty and politick Statesman, came to *Lions* with an Army, under pretense of some design against *Savoy*. The Cardinal caused notice to be given to *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain*, to come and see the King, to tender him his respects, and to assure him by word of mouth of his affection towards his Person.

The Duke was persuaded in good earnest, and departed from *Nancy* to go and salute his Majesty, who was at the head of the Troups; after he had made his Complements, and thought of returning home again, he found himself in the Lyon's Den; for he was arrested under colour of some old pretensions. His Eminency, taking upon him the Office of a Mediatour, proposed to him a way to make his Peace, and have his Liberty; *viz.* to deliver up *Nancy* his capital City, and the Key of his Dutchy, to the King; and that he must of necessity come thither, if he would be discharged from the arrest. He accordingly surrendred *Nancy*, and the King entred as Conquerour with his Army. Behold the Policy of *France*!

The

The demolishing of the Castle of *Orange* is not of a better stamp; for upon some difference that happen'd between the two Royal Princesses and Dowagers, *Lewis* the XIV. as his ordinary way is, offer'd to interpose, and to bring them both to arragreement, and to avoid, for the advantage of the young Prince, who was then a Pupil, the expence of maintaining a Garrison, he caused the Bastions of the Castle to be beat down, and left nothing but the Dungeon, which he might take, when he pleased, with the City, as he did afterwards. That which the same King has done at *Strasbourg*, is of the like nature: This City after the Peace of *Nimueguen* thought it self secure, being confirmed by the pressing Letters that the King sent them from time to time, and the assurances that his Resident, who was then in the City, gave them, that his Master desired nothing more than to live amicably with the Emperour, and with the Cities of the Empire: But at length, by the Artifices of the same Resident, a Traitor was elected Burghermaster, who acted nothing without the advice of *France*. The Magistrates and Citizens, being amused with all those fair promises and protestations of *France*, sent back the *Switzers* whom they had for their Guard; but they were no sooner out, but Monsieur *de Louvois*, with a powerfull Army, came and invested their City, and constrained them to surrender on what conditions he thought fit to prescribe them. And at present they make no difficulty to violate those miserable Articles that they granted them, and to treat them like Slaves, as the rest of his Subjects. Behold the Policy of *France*, that is always in agitation!

After the Peace of *Nimueguen*, how many Towns and Villages hath he taken in *Flanders*? How many of them hath he burnt and utterly ruined to force the people to revolt, and surrender themselves to him, to secure them from all his vexations, and from a total ruine, and to free themselves from those great contributions with which he loaded them? Behold the Temper of *France*!

After the *Pyrenean* Treaty, that was signed by, and of which the Marriage of the King now Reigning was, as it were, the Price and Seal, notwithstanding the Oath and Promises that this King made to his Father-in-law, *Philip* IV. not to assist *Portugal*, he was no sooner returned to *Paris*, but he sent thither Monsieur *de Schomberg* with Troups and Money, and all this to weaken *Spain*, that as yet balanced a little with him the Empire of *Europe*: So that neither Peace, nor Truce, nor Promises, nor Oaths, can stop him when Interest leads him on; neither is Religion it self, how zealous a Catholick soever he would seem to appear, able to bind him, as we shall see hereafter. These are the Politicks of *France* that are continually in motion.

When

When *Lewis* XIV. sent an Ambassadour to the King of *Siam*, under pretence of being desirous to convert that People, can it be believed that that Prince, did really design to extend a Mission so far? no; without doubt he works no conversion but where he can send his Dragoons, who are his booted Apostles; his aim is to settle his Jesuites as so many spies in the Countrey, and to endeavour by means of the Sieur *Constance*, a *Venetian*, and this King's principal Agent there, to cause other Nations to be drove out thence, to establish a certain Commerce in that Kingdom; to have his Emissaries there continually at hand, who fill the head of the King of *Siam* full of jealousies of the aspiring greatness of the *Hollanders* in the *Indies*, and to make use of the affair of *Bantam* as a pretence, giving him a false account thereof. Behold! these are the Intreagues of *France*; she is so great a Mistress of Policy, that she is wonderfull successfull therein; for this reason she never sends into all the Courts of *Europe* any, but such persons as are extremely enlightened and well instructed in King-craft; whom she draws indifferently out of the Army, the Bar, and even the Church it self, as occasion may serve, and the nature of their employment may require; but, above all, they must be dexterous, bold, apt to promise much; and that they be not too much troubled with certain little scruples of Conscience, that an honest man ought to retain: in a word, to speak more intelligibly, they must be down right cheats. As for *Spain*, they often send Church-men thither, because they know that Persons of that character are in great repute there, and are very much regarded.

In *England*, during the time that the Parliament had a little more Power than they seem to have at present, they sent thither the Marquess *de Ravigny*, who was of the Reform'd Religion, as their Deputy General at that Court, and was of the same Leaven with all the other Ministers of *France*, and was possessed with the same Spirit.

In the United Provinces, they ordinarily send one that is a good Oratour, who is very prodigal of his Master's Promises, which the King never takes any care to redeem, but in performing nothing; who endeavours by his Addresses to insinuate himself into the favour of the *Dutch* Ladies, either by Play, or by liberal Presents; and since these have commonly a great ascendent over the mind of their Husbands, they use their utmost diligence to be informed by these of that which oftentimes they could never be able to get out of the Husband himself.

But when they began to give little credit to him that resides there at present, the King, as he confesseth himself in the destiny of Princes, was obliged to

ſend him with all expedition, his holy ſpirit of *France*, to the end that they might think him ſincere and infallible in all that he ſaid.

In the Court of *Germany* they diſpatch perſons that are robuſt and ſtrong, that are able to bear much Wine, to the end that they may be fit companions at the Table of the Prince, to whom they are ſent in Commiſſion; and to the end (as it often happens in the middle of the banquet, when the Wine begins to work,) that they may reveal many things which they would have concealed at another time. They know how to verifie the Proverb, *In vino viritas.*

It is not to be believed that *France* will ſend a Clergy-man as an Envoy to *Rome*, for this reaſon, that they are all ſubordinate to the Pope; and there is not a Prieſt ſo mean and contemptible, but thinks that one day or other he may be made a Cardinal, as a common Soldier may become a Captain. They often ſend thither a huffing ſort of bold ſpirited men, who talk high, and oppoſe the Force of the King their Maſter to his Holineſs's Infallibility. In other Courts, where the covetouſneſs of money prevails over their own intereſt, Preſents are never wanting, and there is ſuch a Prince in the World that ſuffers himſelf to be betrayed, even to his very bolſter. In fine, to this conduct of *France* all Arms are lawfull, provided they can accompliſh the deſign. You may ſee Roman Catholick Officers in all the Courts of *Europe*, and all for having fought Duels; this is a fine pretence indeed, but is not the intention of their retreat; they have other Intereſts, and keep private Memorials of what paſſeth. You ſhall ſee them at the end of a certain time return into *France*, to receive the recompence of their employment, and to carry away with them inſtructions concerning the ſtrength and weakneſs of thoſe places from whence they came, which in due time may be ſerviceable to *France*: But that which is moſt deplorable, is the Blindneſs of ſeveral Princes of *Europe*, to prefer ſuch ſort of People to places of Truſt, and even among Proteſtants. Monſieur *de Vauban*, at preſent chief Enginier of *France*, hath formerly drove this little Trade, and particularly in *Holland*. It muſt be confeſſed that he ſerves his Maſter's Intereſt, and that it behoves other Princes to beware of him, and not without reaſon; it were to be wiſhed that all Potentates would doe ſo for the repoſe of *Europe*.

Another Maxim of the Policy of *France* is, that as ſoon as they have intelligence that any Prince or Princeſs is to be married, that may be any ways ſubſervient to their Intereſt, they cauſe Propoſitions of Marriages to be made them, and eſpecially uſe their utmoſt endeavours to procure *French*

Princeſſes

Princeſſes to be joyned with Forreign Princes, to whom they never fail to give inſtructions; and it is their practice when it is requiſite, and as they have occaſion, before their departure, to make them ſenſible of the obligations they owe to the King, and of the means they have to tender their acknowledgments to him: But of late the King of *Portugal* hath eſcaped this Snare; not but that the King of *France* by his Miniſters and Emiſſaries hath done all that he poſſibly could in the Caſe; and he may have this conſolation, that he hath left no Stone unturn'd to bring it about. *Spain* hath ſupplanted him this time. At preſent the Policy of *France* is at work to Marry the Prince Royal of *Poland*, with ſome natural Daughter of the King, without doubt, ſince they have had the boldneſs to preſent one to the Duke of *Bavaria*, who eſteems himſelf as great, if not greater, than the Prince of *Poland*; and I believe it would have been already done, if they were aſſured of his Succeſſion to the Crown; for if it be not ſo, he will not be capable of doing any great matter for the advantage of *France*. It is not to be thought that the King of *Poland* will refuſe it, with a conſiderable Portion, for he is already very much indebted to the King of *France*. Two hundred thouſand Livres *per annum*, that he hath given to one of his Sons, in beſtowing on him the Abbies of St. *Germain* and St. *Denis*, deſerve well to be conſidered: Beſides the Queen hath reaſon to be ſatisfied; for they have made her Father Duke and Peer of *France*, and promiſed to receive her as Queen, in caſe they come into *France*, though ſhe were born a Subject of the King. Whence it is not to be doubted, but that in caſe the Crown were ſettled on the young Prince, they would have done this e'er now. They have Choice of Princeſſes in *France* already for this Marriage.

Is not this to ſet up himſelf for the chief Monarch of *Europe*? when he hath erected a Sovereign Court at *Metz*, before which the King hath cauſed all the Kings and Princes that poſſeſs any Land that he calls his Dependencies, to be ſummoned to a Tryall concerning Goods that do not belong to him; who not appearing thereupon, as they took no care to do, none being willing to acknowledge this univerſal and tyrannical Tribunal, he hath proceeded to judge them, and hath taken poſſeſſion without any other form by the Canon Law. If any deny this, the King of *Sweden*, the Princes of *Monbelliard*, and of *Petit Pierre*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, and ſeveral other Princes and Lords, will tell you what ſort of a Monſter this Chamber is, and how it ſwallows up all that comes before it. And that which is more aſtoniſhing is, that the King at this day durſt found his

right to certain Lands of *Germany*, upon the judgment that this Chamber of *Metz* hath made on his behalf, as you will see presently in a Memorial that he hath lately sent to the Dyet at *Ratisbonne*.

France hath another great advantage to further their Pretensions, which is this; there are found in *Paris* persons so dexterous at writing, and who are so well skilled in imitating with a Pen the ancient Gothick Characters of five or six hundred years standing, that one would avouch, that they are certainly of that date, and with this they contrive a Dependence, which they draw so far, that the Devil himself, as cunning as he is, could not be able to contradict it. Who knows what is yet on the stocks, and that is not yet brought to light, and shall not appear, but when time, and place, and a favourable opportunity, shall require it? Is it not matter of Laughter to hear the extravagant praises that the Flatterers give to *Lewis* XIV. persuading him that he hath given Peace to his Enemies, and to all *Europe*? These Fables are fit to be related to the Kingdom of *China*, as the *Chevalier de Chaumont*, Ambassadour of *France*, hath not failed to doe in his Oration to that King, as may be seen all at length in a Book entituled, A Voyage to *Siam*; and they will not likewise fail to proffer these same Sonnets to the King of *China*. These Tales may serve well enough to be dispersed in those Countries, but not here in *Europe*, where our eyes have seen, and our ears have heard the contrary. I know not where to find Scribes impertinent enough to commit the like absurdities to Paper. Do we not know all the steps that the King of *France* hath made to conclude a Peace with the States of the United Provinces? because he saw well, that Fortune began to change, he made an agreement at the City of *Nimueguen*, that belonged to the *Hollanders*; so that they went not to *Versailles* to beg it of him. He offered them *Maestricht*, which he had then in his power; and if the States had not been so hasty to grant him so readily what he demanded, and for which he made such fair Promises, the King had repay'd them the charges of the War; and who knows what it hath cost him under-hand to attain this Peace that he sollicited with so much earnestness? for he spared nothing in endeavouring to take off the States from their Allies, even to that degree, that he delivered up to *Spain* several places, to serve for bounds between his Kingdom and the United Provinces. What I said, that if the States had not precipitated the signing of the Peace, *France* would have paid them the charges of the War, I believe to be on good grounds: Several reasons induced him speedily to make this separate Peace; for he saw clearly that his Forces diminished

niſhed every day. It is certain, that after the Battel of St. *Denis*, which was not finiſhed becauſe of the Peace, the Prince of *Orange* would have entred with his Troups into *France*. Moreover, the King knew very well, that if he were obliged to make a general Peace, it could not be done till he had reſtored to the Duke of *Lorrain* his Countrey, and that they could not compell the Electour of *Brandenbourg* to tender to the *Swedes* what he had taken from them, as we was obliged to doe in concluding a Peace in particular with him; *France* would that have reſtored to their Allie, the King of *Sweden*, which he had loſt in taking up Arms for their ſervice. Here, you ſee, are very ſufficient reaſons for demanding a particular Peace with the States, which is very far from having given it to *Europe*, as they boaſt, and give it out every where: If any one hath given Peace to *Europe*, it muſt be the States of the United Provinces; for after they had made it in particular, at the inſtant requeſt of the King, the general Peace followed, through the mediation of the States General. It is certain, that the King made this Peace by conſtraint: He began now to flutter but with one Wing, and the States and their Allies daily reinforced themſelves. The *Dutch* were recovered from their ſtupidity; the Prince of *Orange* gained every day more experience; the natural courage of the Duke of *Luxembourg* was much abated, and began to leave him; part of the *French* Troups were periſhed, and the reſt very much haraſſed; *Sweden* could doe no more, and was almoſt ruined; wherefore it was abſolutely neceſſary to give ſome reſt to the Army of *France* by a Peace. Since this Peace was in part forced, the King thereby being obliged to abandon all that he had taken, it laſted but a very little time; and in the very inſtant that the Emperour was engaged againſt the *Turks*, and that *Spain*, and the Allies thereof, had laid down their Arms, and relied on the faith of the Treaty of *Nimueguen*, the moſt Chriſtian King, like a Lyon, flew impetuouſly on the Low Countries. It was requiſite then, to ſtop this torrent, to grant him ſeveral Places and Territories, and to make a Truce within a full Peace, which will laſt no longer than his Intereſt will permit. It may be avouched for certain, that *France* makes no great difference between her Subjects and her Nighbours; whereof *Genoua* is a clear proof; ſhe deſtroys and pillages them all alike, as occaſion ſerves, and according to her good pleaſure. Who durſt give aſſurance, that the truce will be a greater obſtacle to hinder their ambition, than the two Treaties of Peace, the *Pyrenean* and that of *Nimueguen*? This prodigious quantity of Troups, that amount even to 150000 Men, that are maintained in time of Peace

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and Truce, as well as in War, is a ſufficient demonſtration of the temper of *France*, that he hath always a Foot lifted up to be gone, having at all times ſufficient Forces ready to execute their deſigns. They cauſe them to encamp often, and to make continual movements, to accuſtome the Nighbourhood to it, to the end that they ſhould not have any ſuſpicion when they have a mind to march out in good earneſt, and to fall upon ſome place and ſurprize it.

One of the Maxims of the King of *France*, is to hinder his Nighbours from encreaſing their Forces, but to keep them always in a condition not to be able to moleſt him, when he ſhall think fit to break with them, as we have ſeen when the United Provinces were in part reſolved to raiſe ſixteen thouſand Men. How many Sollicitations, how many illuſory Promiſes, and how many Journies did the Count *d'Avaux* make to hinder it? he did nothing elſe but talk of the ſecurity of the Alliances, as if none but his Maſter alone were endowed with the quality of being faithfull, and as if he had been the moſt religious obſerver of Treaties; and all this becauſe he was ſenſible, that the execution of this Commiſſion would hinder the taking the City of *Luxembourg*; promiſing that the King, his Maſter, would thereby put an end to all his pretenſions: But he is again as ready to take another, as he was before for the taking this City, as we have ſeen not long ago at *Mons*; and then it would be the ſame thing if the States ſhould oppoſe him; and this will laſt as long as the Princes of *Europe* ſhall have their eyes hoodwinked with this band of Fear, or Complaiſance, which marvelouſly helps to advance the deſigns of *France* on *Europe*; no body perceiving that *France* is as baſe and cowardly as its King, and that both the one and the other are affraid of the Sword.

All theſe new converſions of ſome, and perſecution of others, that are to be ſeen in *France*, are only to dazle the eyes of Catholick Princes, and to amuſe them till ſuch time that he falls upon ſome City, or State, that makes profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion. The Houſe of *Auſtria* underſtands well this Stratageme, that they have practiſed themſelves heretofore, when they had higher deſigns than they have at preſent; and when they had a mind to attack a Proteſtant Prince, their pretence on that occaſion was, the Extirpation of Hereſie. The *French* King is now a carrying on the ſame handy-craft. It was abſolutely neceſſary for him to begin with his own Subjects; and as that muſt needs weaken him, he ſollicites others to doe the like. How much hath he labour'd to diſ-unite the *Switzers*, and to puſh on the Catholick *Cantons* to quarrel with the Proteſtant, and after he

he hath divided them, to fall upon them? But the Pope hath applied a remedy, and accommodated their difference. *France* hath wrought ſo far, that they have obliged the Duke of *Savoy* to rid himſelf of his beſt Subjects of his Vallies: Having gone ſo far, he cannot well retreat; and I believe that *France* would be very glad to ſee *England* doe the ſame, to weaken it at one ſtroke, that it may not be able to ſtir, when it ſhall pleaſe *Lewis* XIV. to fall foul on the Low Countries, and to take away from the States of the United Provinces all means of making any oppoſition, and ſo ſtep by ſtep to make himſelf Maſter of *Europe*, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of the Politicks of *France*, and its Maxims, in regard to Sovereigns in particular.

The Policy of France, *with reſpect to* Rome, *and the Pope.*

ALL the World knows the veneration and reſpect that all Catholicks have for the holy See, and for the holy Father, whom they conſider as the Vicar of *Jeſus Chriſt* upon Earth, the Succeſſour of St. *Peter*, and the Univerſal Biſhop, and (if you will believe the Council of *Trent*) the moſt holy Lord, to whom all Kings, Princes and People do owe an entire obedience: Not to be ſenſible of this Duty, is to ſmell of Hereſie, and, according to the Council of *Conſtance*, deſerve the Fagot. Would not you ſay, to ſee *Lewis* XIV. perſecuting the *Huguenots*, as he doth, that he is the moſt devout Son his Holineſs hath, and that while others only kiſs his Feet, out of profound reverence he would kiſs ſomewhat more? But the caſe is quite contrary, for he is a diſobedient Son, that takes very little notice of the holy Father's Remonſtrances, who wreſteth his goods from him in his Dominions, and enters into *Rome* by his Ambaſſadours as fierce as a Tigre. It is the haughty ſpirit of *France* that attacketh the holy Father in his Patrimony, in his Authority, and in his Conduct. I ſay, in the firſt place, in the Patrimony of the Church, in taking away the *Regalia* of *France*, which is a right that the Popes have enjoyed for many ages, and which the Kings that were the Predeceſſours of *Lewis* XIV. had granted.

granted to the Succeſſour of St. *Peter*. What Inſtances and what Remonſtrances hath not the Pope made of late, to oblige the King not to encroach on the Rights of the Church, and to repreſent to him that theſe ſort of Uſurpations have been of very lamentable conſequence to the Families of Kings and Princes? But all this is to no effect, unleſs it be that the King ſometimes lets fall a ſaying, that the Pope is a good honeſt Man, and that he would be loth to anger the old Gentleman; in the mean time he would not reſtore that which he had taken from him. Much after the ſame manner as when he took from *Spain* a part of the Low Countries in the time of peace; he proteſted altogether that he deſigned not to break the Peace, but only to take his Dependencies, and that which belonged to him. On what ſide ſoever you turn, you will find the crafty deſigns of *France*, that quickly invented a way to clip the Holy Father's Wings, in the Aſſembly of the Clergy of that Kingdom in the year 1682. where they cauſed it to be declared, as we all know, that he was not infallible; that he had no power over the temporal Eſtate of Kings; that he was below Councils, and could not of himſelf make any Article of Faith. Could they controll the Pope more ſenſibly in his Power than they did then: And beſides, all the Preaching Monks and Jeſuites themſelves, were obliged to teach it their Auditours, as good Doctrine in the Chair of Truth, and in their Colleges. The Archbiſhop of *Paris*, who was Preſident of that Aſſembly, and who (as may be eaſily believed) was not very well beloved at *Rome*, thought that he ought to ſuſpect at leaſt, whether they would ſend him a Cardinal's Cap or no. To this effect he wrote into *England* to be informed what methods King *Henry* VIII. took when he changed Religion in that Kingdom: but this wrought not at all on the mind of the Pope, who knew well his own People, and Mr. the Archbiſhop runs a great riſque of being a long while without a Cap, though he ſhould catch cold for want of it. Since this Prelate hath ſeen, that by this means he hath rather gone backwards, than advanced his affairs, he hath taken a quite different courſe, and hath ſet up for a Converter after a perſecuting way, in cauſing the *Huguenots* of his Dioceſe, and of all *France*, to be tormented through his wicked Counſel; hoping thereby to molliſie the Pope in his favour, and that he would have ſome reſpect for his zeal and warmth for the propagation of the Faith: But the holy Father, who is a perſon endued with a good judgment, and who naturally is not violent, and would have the Converſions promoted by Reaſon and good Examples, not by Dragoons and Torments, and by an holy Life, which is not agreeable

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to Mr. the Archbiſhop of *Paris*, who loveth the fair Sex too well, and is never ſatisfied with diverting himſelf in the Stews among the Courteſans. This changing of his perſon hath produced him nothing but ſcorn, he had no part in the laſt promotion, nor never will have any thing as long as *Innocent* XI. lives, and it may be after him, or there muſt happen great alterations at *Rome*. In the mean time Mr. *le Camus*, Biſhop of *Grenoble*, (whoſe Life and Converſation may very well ſerve for a pattern to be copied by the Court-Biſhops) hath been honoured with the Purple, without having deſired it, and without having perſecuted any, nor ſo much as permitted it in his Dioceſe. Since this Prelate is not after the mode of the Court, it cannot be, but that this new Dignity that is ſo lately conferr'd on him, hath proved a great mortification to the King, and a very great eye-ſore to the Archbiſhop, to ſee himſelf excluded. Finally, could they more viſibly oppoſe the conduct of the holy Father, than the King doth at preſent, in regard of the Franchiſe of the Ambaſſadour's Quarters, that ſerved only for a retreat for Robbers, Bankrupts, and divers Aſſaſſines and Murtherers; and, to ſpeak more plainly, to fill the Exchange with Ambaſſadours, or their Retinue, and Domeſticks? Although the Pope is Maſter of his own, he hath had the prudence to ſtay till the death of the Count *d'Eſtree*'s Ambaſſadour, and the departure of that of *Spain*; and yet what a noiſe do they make at the Court of *France*, concerning the meaſures that the Pope hath taken for the ſecurity of his Subjects, and the repoſe of his capital City? I would fain know if his Holineſs ſhould meddle with what the King thinks fit to doe at *Paris*, or if he ſhould not think it convenient, or had a mind to contradict the ſetting up a Statue of the King, that they have erected while he is yet living, in the place of Victory, in the middle of four Lanthorns, with impertinent Inſcriptions, to which the Magiſtrate and Regiment of Guards pay the ſame honours and reſpect as they do to the King himſelf, even to the making of Speeches to it, how it would be reſented: I would willingly be informed, how the King would take the ſingle Remonſtrances of the Pope; he would make anſwer, no doubt, that he ought to be concerned only in his own affairs, and that every one is Maſter at home. When the holy Father, diſapproving of the King's familiarity with Madam *de Monteſpan*, and his little private intrigues and correſpondence with Madam *de Maintenon*, proteſted to the General of the Jeſuites, that he was amazed that Father *le Chaiſe* ſhould give him Abſolution ſo eaſily; the King ſeemed to be very much diſſatisfied thereat, ſaying, that he was not bound

to give an account of his Actions to any. Why then doth he cause his new Ambassadour to make his entry into *Rome* with a Band of armed Men, and, as it were, with his Sword in his hand? All this makes appear the supercilious disposition of *France*, that would dominiere every where, even over the Altar it self. But whatsoever dust the King raises, as if this Franchise were of no advantage to him, all things would be quickly pacified, if the Holy Father would grant a Dispensation for the Marriage of the eldest Son of the Church, with the Daughter of *Rome*, that is, the City of *Liege*; I would say, exhibit a Bull in behalf of the Cardinal of *Furstemberg*, in case he could cause himself to be elected Co-adjutour of Mr. the Arch-Bishop of *Colen*, though he could not obtain the Arch-Bishoprick himself, to the end he may not fall again into the same Predicament with the said Arch-Bishop for the Bishoprick of *Munster*, for which he could never be able to obtain a Bull, with all the Instances and Sollicitations that the Heat of the *French* Ambassadour could make for it; but it would be sufficient for the King, if at present none might be suffered to enter that were contrary to his Interests, and if *Furstemberg*, the *Mercury* of *France*, should ever arrive to that dignity, it is not to be question'd, but that his zeal for his Master and Benefactour would encrease, and that the *French* Politicks through his means would be predominant in the Electoral Territories, and that the King who had a Garrison in the Fortresses, would become absolute Master thereof. But it is to be hoped for the good of *Europe*, and of the Church, that his Holiness will never commit so great a Fault, so contrary to his own Interests, and to that of all Christendom, as to grant any such Bulls to the Cardinal of *Furstemberg*. We all know that if the King could persuade the Pope to dispence with his going to *Rome*, and to establish a Patriarch in in *France* after the *Grecian* manner, without doubt he would doe it, after what hath been restored of late years by the Clergy of *France*. There would arise thence a double advantage, the Money that is carried to *Rome*, would not go out of *France*; and the Patriarch would grant him all that he should have a mind to demand; (as the Parliaments doe at present) though it were a Licence for him to marry Madam the Princess of *Conti*. But he can by no means obtain it of the Court of *Rome*, and besides he would have the Jesuites on his back, at least that he should make *le Chaise* Patriarch, or some other of their Society. On the other side, the Bishops that aspire to the Purple, would not very well like this new Project, except the Arch-Bishop of *Paris*, who might make some pretension to that Dignity. The true cause of the *French* King's temporizing is, that he knows

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that the Popes are not as the King would fain be, *Viri immortales*, and that after this is gone off the Stage, another may come on, that may not be perhaps so honest a Man, and that will have more respect and complaisance for the eldest Son of the Church. But new Lords, new Councils; Death sweeps away indisposed Kings as well as decrepid Popes. It is certain that in process of time, we shall see the Arrogancy of *France* lord it in *Avignon*, and the Countrey of *Venessin*, as we see it doth this day in *Metz*, *Sedan*, the *Franche Compté*, *Burgundy*, *Dombes*, and at last in the Principality of *Orange*. The King hath the same right of re-union and conveniency over *Avignon* and the Country of *Venessin*, that he hath over all the other Territories, before named: For Queen *Joanna* could not give the Right of the Crown to Pope *Clement* V. and therefore afterwards the Popes distributed thirty thousand Florins to retain it. The Countrey of *Venessin* was taken by force from the Count *de St. Gilles*: So that although the Holy-See hath possessed these two Counties for several Ages, it is certain that the King will some time or other take an occasion, either by quarrel, or otherwise, to seize them. When this happens the Pope will have reason to cry out; but if he talks too loud, he will run the hazard of having his Son's Troups sent against the Holy Father, as hath been seen not long agoe. And if ever the King of *France* should make himself master of *Spain*, as he pretends to be of Right, after the death of King *Charles*, now reigning, the Pope cannot expect, that his Rights shall be then better preserved in *Spain*, than they are at present in *France*; and the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, that *Pepin* granted to the Holy See, would quickly change its Master; and I know not whether *Rome* would be exempted. As soon as the Pope should begin to talk of Excommunication, the King would talk of a Patriarch; insomuch that the Pope ought not to flatter himself, that the gentle disposition of *France* would be very submissive to the Holy See, nor to judge of the Catholickship of the King by the Persecution that he raises against the Reformed of his own Kingdom, and elsewhere. He hath private reasons for this, and if he persecutes them on one side, it may turn to their advantage on the other. He knows very well how to bring the *Turks* into *Hungary*, when he thinks it may serve his design and interest against the Empire, and be an help to facilitate his ascending the Throne of *Europe*, wherewith this Great King hath bounded his Ambition: But oftentimes Man proposeth and God disposeth. *France* would be thought very sincere, and she would fain have the Holy See, and all People, to make her Ambition an Article of their Faith, whatsoever she saith, or whatsoever she doth.

Nevertheless I am not of opinion that if good Faith and Integrity were lost, they would go to seek for it with her; all her past actions sufficiently declare that she retains nothing of it, and that she could not but comply with the King's humour: So that if this be wanting in a Prince, the Holy Father ought to stand on his Guard: He is a private enemy, that counterfeits the devout *Santo*; he is a whited Sepulchre that dazles the eyes of those that come near him; he is an *Orpheus* that enchanteth Christendom with his fair promises, and with the sound of the *Lauo-do'rs*, but within he is a sink of falshood, an insatiable ambition, an unparallel'd covetousness, and a barbarous cruelty; against whom the Church ought to put up publick and continual prayers to God Almighty, that it might please him to deliver them out of his Hands, left the Christians should fall into the same misfortunes that the *Jews* did in the time of *Antiochus* the Illustrious.

The Policy of France, *with respect to the Emperour, and the Electoral Princes of the Empire.*

Charles V. did apparently weaken the House of *Austria*, by dividing it into two branches, giving the Empire to *Ferdinand* his Brother, and *Spain* to *Philip* his Son. It must be confessed that they are two Twins; the affinity of whose relation is so great by Bloud and Alliances, and their common Interests so linked together, that it is a hard matter to strike at the one without offending the other, and to destroy one without shaking the other, and putting it into the last extremity. This House hath always made head against *France*; They have as it were, poised between them the Empire of the World. *Spain* took away from *Antony* of *Bourbon*, King of *Navarre*, the Kingdom that he had acquired by his Marriage with *Joanna d'Albret*, Heiress of *Navarre*. Whence it is easie to inferr, that the House of *Bourbon* being advanced ever since *Henry* IV. to the Throne of *France*, is now born an implacable Enemy to the House of *Austria*; and if they could dethrone both the one and the other, it is not to be doubted

ed but that they would doe it very joyfully, and if it were possible to put themselvs in their Place; and by this means to joyn the Empire to *France*, and *France* to *Spain*, and the *Low-Countries*, and so at length very easily to attain to the Universal Monarchy of *Europe*. If this design succeeds not, it is at least the intention and aim of *France*, and the great end of *Lewis* XIV: And it was not far from being compassed, when *Vienna* was at the very brink of falling into the *Ottoman* slavery.

None can be ignorant any longer of the King of *France*'s Correspondence with the *Ottoman* Port, and that it was at his sollicitations, that the Grand *Seignior* first broke the Truce that he had made with the Empire, to back the designs of Count *Teckley*, whom *France* assisted with Money and Counsel. The Emperour, and his Council, know better than any the occasion that obliged the Port to send back Count *Caprara*, and the propositions of Peace that he brought: But the Marquis *de Seppeville*, the *French* Ambassadour at the Emperour's Court, was extreme diligent in sending Couriers after Couriers to his Master, to give him an account thereof, who failed not with great expedition do dispatch a Person to the Grand *Vizier*, to oblige him to prosecute the Siege of *Vienna*; representing to him that his Honour was higly concerned therein; that the City was reduced to the last extremity; that he ought to take it at any rate whatsoever, for his own reputation, and the good of the Port; that this Siege having already made so much noise in the World, he could not quit it, without fixing an everlasting Infamy on the *Ottoman* Empire, and on himself; and that the better to facilitate his taking it, and for the dividing the Arms of the Empire, he would enter into *Flanders*, with a powerfull Army, which would infallibly oblige the Princes of the Empire to call back their Troups for their own defence. The King hath effectually performed his promise; for he hath enter'd within these few Years, as we have seen into *Flanders*, burning, pillaging, and, after the *Turkish* manner, taking all that came in his way, imitating his Allie, whom he was so ready to serve and assist; and the King stripping himself of the name of Most Christian, took for some time that of his good Friend and Allie, the *Grand Sultan*, since the places that are most Sacred to Christians, and even the retirements of Nuns and Religious Women, were not spared; several Virgins suffer'd Martyrdom by a Violence heretofore unheard of in *Christendom*: But all this contributed to the King's design, and the politick Genius of *France*, obtained its end. There were forty thousand Men, that were just ready in *Alsatia* to enter into *Germany*, where he intended to cause himself to be proclaimed Emperour at the

the Head of this Army. His Minifeſtoes were already Printed, to be diſperſed every where; the Tenour of which was, that for the preſerving of *Chriſtendom* from falling into ſlavery, he had been obliged to ſtand in the gap with a powerfull Army, and being declared Emperour was willing to take the Reigns of the Empire into his hands, for the better ſecurity and defence thereof, as being the Bullwark of *France*, and alſo of *Europe*, eſpecially in this conjuncture, conſidering the weakneſs and incapacity of the Emperour, &c. For the King knew well when to give it out that he was not capable of defending the Empire. It is not to be doubted if *Vienna* had been taken, but the Electours and Princes of *Germany* would thereupon have put themſelves under his protection for their own preſervation, as being the only Prince that had Forces in a readineſs, and at that time was able to ſtop the progreſs of the Infidels.

But ſince *Vienna* hath been relieved, we have ſeen the truth of what I affirm, and the Courage of *France* hath much abated. They took no care to joyn in the common joy of Univerſe, that could not tender thanks enough to God for this Victory by publick Bon-fires, and by ſinging *Te Deum*, with which the Air rebounded: It was *France* alone that was dumb, and forbad many Church-Men to order any Thankſgiving on this occaſion, under penalty of incurring the Indignation of the Moſt Chriſtian King. This is the Political diſpoſition of *France* towards the Emperour, that to have an opportunity to ſet him beſide his own Throne, and to take his Place, the Moſt Chriſtian King made Vows, and moſt paſſionately deſired that *Vienna* might fall into the hands of the *Mahometans*. But ſince our thoughts are not as God's, this King of Kings hath ordered the Matter otherwiſe, in giving ſo great Victories to the Chriſtian Arms; wherefore *France* muſt change her Battery; and 'tis to be hoped, that the Emperour's Council will ſtand more on their Guard than formerly, and that they will take away from *France* the means of penetrating into their deſigns, and even into the Cabinet of their ſecrets; for it is well known what methods they uſed to alter and make void any reſolutions that were not according to the Reliſh and Intereſt of the *French* King; inſomuch that the Emperour could not ſpeak, adviſe, write, nor ſo much as make the leaſt ſtep, without being immediately ſpyed through, diverted, obſtructed, and obſerved: And without offence to the Reverend Society of *Jeſuites*, they have been accuſed of having a great hand in all thoſe wicked affairs, they always follow the ſtrongeſt ſide, in expectation of a Change. There are few that are ignorant that the miſunderſtanding that happened between the Electour of *Brandenburg* and *Montecuculi*,

Isolani, General of the Imperial Forces in the time of the Wars of *Holland*, was caused by the subtilty of the *Jesuites*, who changed the Emperour's Orders to attack *Turenne* jointly with *Brandenburgh*, into this, not to attack him at all, which gave an opportunity to the *French* Army to retreat, that would have been in danger of remaining there altogether, if it had been attacked by two so good Parties; for it was in a very bad condition through diseases, disertion, and mortality. But we may hope, that the Scene of Affairs being changed, the Reverend Fathers, the *Jesuites*, will for the future retain better sentiments of the Empire. I can hardly forbear relating two circumstances that happened during the last Rupture, between the Emperour and the King: One is that of General *Capelier*'s chief Butler, who carried on a correspondence with the Emissaries of *France*, and gave them an account of what he knew and understood from his Master, whose Letters were intercepted at the Post-Office at *Francfort*. This Traytor was quickly arrested, but the *Jesuites*, who at that time had taken a little too much *Spirit. Gall.* found out a way for him to make his escape, for fear he should discover others. During the Siege of *Philipsbourg* by the Imperial Forces, these good Fathers procured two Merchants to convey Powder thither; but the Mine took no effect, and the Jesuites hindered the punishment of the undertakers; lest farther discoveries should be made. I should not have mentioned this passage, but because one of those Persons was an acquaintance of mine, who told me with his own mouth, that they came to find him out at *Paris*, where he was settled, to go and engage in this affair. You may see by this, that the Spirit of *France* animates many bodies, and that all those in whom his Imperial Majesty confides, are not faithfull to him.

When *France* dealt under-hand to perswade the Emperour to give his two Sisters to two Princes dispossessed of their Territories, it was not that he foresaw, or designed, that affairs should fall out in that manner as we see at this day; for it may be affirmed, that the Duke of *Lorrain* is the Restorer of the Empire, the Hero of so many great and noble Victories, and the Conquerour of so many Provinces, that 'twill oblige the *Grand Signior*, not only to desire a Peace, as he doth, but to grant all that they shall demand of him to save his head from a popular Commotion, that will not fail to attend him if he do not readily make a Peace, or a Truce. But the Policy of *France* had its regard, in counselling the Emperour to bestow his Sisters on two Princes dispossessed of their Estates, and that had no hopes to re-enter therein, but by a Peace; thinking that they would

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be ſure always to put the Emperour upon that which would not in the leaſt turn to his Imperial Majeſty's advantage, in hopes that there might be an Article made in their favour, and ſo they might return to the poſſeſſion of their Lands by ſuch a Peace. This hath indeed happened to one, and as for the other, it is to be hoped that he will himſelf open a paſſage by his victorious Sword. It is certain, that the miſunderſtandings that have been fomented between Prince *Herman* of *Baden*, Preſident of the Imperial Council, and the Duke of *Lorrain*, and between the King of *Poland* and the Emperour, and the like, are all Eggs hatched by *France*. Mr. the Marquiſs *de Bethune*, knows too well the way of *Poland*, and his Siſter hath always a *French* Soul, though ſhe be Queen of that Kingdom. The benevolences of the King of *France* to her Children are clear Evidences, that are yet extant, and the returns, that have paſſed through the hands of the Bankers of *Hamburg* and *Dantzick*, are, as it were, the Beams of this great Sun of *France*, that diſperſeth his light through many Courts. The Emperour cannot be ignorant, that it is an old Diſtemper, and an itch of a long time ſtanding, that the Kings of *France* have a mind to aſpire to the Empire, becauſe it is one of the ways to an Univerſal Monarchy, or at leaſt to that of *Europe*. *Henry II.* cauſed a projection to be made after what manner the *Romans* heretofore beat out a Road for themſelves through *Italy*; but thoſe Countries have been always a flaming Sword to the *French*, and very fatal to their enterpriſes; inſomuch that *du Pleſſis* adviſed *Charles* IX. to attack *Italy* no longer, but to turn his Arms to the *Low Countries*. *Lewis* XIV. is quite of another opinion, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. After the death of *Ferdinand* III. did not the King of *France* uſe his utmoſt endeavours to remount the Throne of *Charlemagne*? he failed not to ſend into all the Courts of the Electours, to gain their ſuffrage. Thoſe that had any influence on the minds of thoſe Princes, certainly made good markets on't; for *France* is liberal enough to thoſe whom ſhe wants to draw to her Party. One viſible mark of the King of *France* his deſign is, that he hath cauſed an Eagle to be ſtamped on his Money, over the Head of his own Effigies; and that he hath ſaid openly, but withall very haughtily, that the Empire hath been long enough in the *Auſtrian* Family, and it was time for it to return to his; whereupon it followed that the *Turks* enter'd into *Germany* in the Year 1683. But all the deſigns and wiſdom of men is but fooliſhneſs with God, who regulates not the Government of the World according to the ambition of *Lewis* the Great. But ſince this Prince is very ſenſible that the Electours of the Empire may be a great

obſtacle

obſtacle in his way, if they ſhould withſtand him, he makes it his buſineſs to careſs ſome of them; and to threaten others. The Marriage that *France* made of the *Dauphin* with the Princeſs of *Bavaria*, was a charm to draw the Prince of that Family into the King's Intereſt, and to infuſe into his body the Spirit of *France*. The Penſion that the King allowed him for ſome time, together with this Marriage, had ſo far engaged him, that all the World thought that this Prince would be abſolutely devoted to his Benefactour. But the indecent and unworthy matches that *France* propounded to this young Prince, cauſed the eyes of his Miniſters to be opened, who took ſuch care to diſabuſe him, that he changed his judgement, and turn'd to the right ſide, and gained much renown, as well by his Marriage with the Emperour's Daughter, as by the quarrels he acquired in *Hungary*; which he durſt not ſo much as have thought of, if he had remained in the intereſts of *France*, by reaſon that the conqueſt of the Imperial Army are not competible with the King's deſigns, as we have before ſhewn. As ſoon as the Duke of *Bavaria* had quitted the *French* Party, the King, to comfort himſelf, enter'd into the Chamber of Madam the *Dauphineſs*, and ſaid, he had juſt now won 800 thouſand Crowns of her Brother. It is apparent to all men, that the Electour of *Brandenburgh* is encompaſſed with *French* Emiſſaries, and that the principal Gentlemen of his Court (whom diſcretion forbids me to name) have taken but too much of this *Spiritus Gall.* and that there is nothing done by the Electour, but the Envoy of *France* is advertiſed thereof, and without offence to Monſieur *de Rebenac*, all his Intrigues are ſufficiently manifeſt, and the Preſents that he diſtributes, if they had been more privately managed, perhaps they would not have been known; but ſince he cannot keep his own counſel, he ought not to blame others, who are not under the ſame obligations of intereſt to conceal the ſecret. Though the deceaſed Prince *Lewis* had been a little more involved in the Intereſts of *France*, than probable he would be, if he were yet living, yet I am very well ſatisfied that the *French* Envoy would not have effected his deſign, but only have ſuggeſted it; and I believe that the Electoral Prince is very ſenſible where the ſhoe pincheth him: He hath reaſon to be cautious herein, and to look about him, but I wiſh that it be not too late, as the ſaying is, when the Steed is ſtoln, to ſhut the Stable door. If the Electour of *Brandenburgh* knew his own intereſt, and his ſtrength, and could but once get rid of theſe buſie ſpirits of *France* that ſurround him, he might well be called one of the moſt Puiſſant Princes of the North, and might become formidable to

 others;

others; for it is certain, that whereſoever he enclineth, he carries a great weight with him. *France* is not ignorant hereof, and therefore ſhe courts him; for provided he would ſtand neuter, and adhere to no party, ſhe would be content. The perſecution of the Proteſtants in *France* had, as it were, opened the eyes of the Electour; but Mr. *de Rebenac*, and alſo Mr. *Deſpence*, are ſo well skill'd in the arts of pretending and evading, that they are ſooner believed, than ſo many thouſand witneſſes that arrive daily at *Berlin*. It is true, that the Electour hath this advantage, that thoſe People that fly to him for refuge, do encreaſe and ſtrengthen his Countrey; but *France*, for her part, labours to cauſe the Electorate, after the death of the Electour *Frideric William*, to fall into the hands of Princes that will be more favourable to her, than thoſe that are deſcended from Princeſs *Louiſa* of *Naſſaw* and *Orange*; and there is great likelihood of bringing it to paſs, at leaſt, they have made a good ſtep towards it, if God do not prevent it by preſerving his Electoral Highneſs, and giving him Iſſue.

As for the Electour *Palatine*, when *France* cauſed the Princeſs to be married with the Duke of *Orleans*, ſhe had a double regard; one, by it and a Penſion, to entangle the late Electour in her intereſts; and another, if that ſucceeded not, that ſhe might be able always to form pretenſions on the Right of Madam of *Orleans*. We have ſeen in the ſequel of this Marriage how the Electours *Palatine*, Father and Son, have been treated by *Lewis* XIV. and after what manner the *Palatinate* hath been haraſed by his Troups, and the Countrey ruined, and made deſolate: But laſtly, death having within a little time took away theſe two Princes, without Iſſue-male, and at preſent the *Palatinate* being fallen into the Houſe of *Newburg*, according to a Treaty that hath been made with the Emperour, the King of *France* ſeeth plainly, that there are no meaſures to be taken with the preſent Electour, and that he is too nearly allied to the Emperour, to whom he is obliged for what he hath, ever to be able to abandon his intereſt, and to quit his party; therefore *France* doth not pretend to attack him that way; the pretenſions of the Rights of Madam are at preſent ſet on foot. The Pope doth well to interpoſe; it is not a light matter, it is an open Gate that *France* keeps to enter into *Germany*; and all the delays obtained by the Pope, only ſerve to defer the miſchief for a little time, but not to cure it; and we ſhall ſee next Spring (if there happen no change in *Europe*) the *French* King ſtorming there, with Fire and Sword, after his uſual manner. All that this Electour can wiſh for, is, that the Peace may be concluded between the two Emperours this Winter; and

that

that the death of a Prince happening, his deceaſe may be an occaſion of diverting *Lewis* the Great another way. Theſe are the only means I ſee, through which that Electour can poſſibly eſcape falling into the hands of *France*; and this reaſon ought to be a great motive to the Emperour, to make an advantageous Peace with the *Turks*, as it is now in his power; for he cannot but underſtand, that if ever the King ſhould break the Ice, and ſhould get footing in *Germany*, there would be no beating him out again. The *French* are inſolent in proſperity, eſpecially at the firſt bruſh; and provided Fortune ſmile on them at the beginning, and in the firſt onſet, with which they venture at all things, it will be a great ſpur to them to puſh on farther; and then, the Peace with the *Turks* not being finiſhed, I know not whether it will be in the Emperour's power to doe it when he pleaſeth, at leaſt on the ſame conditions that they now offer him.

The Electour of *Saxony* hath never much regarded the offers of *France*: He is a Prince that hath not ſtudied all the ſubtil Arts of Policy, with which moſt Courts are filled; but underſtanding his true Intereſt, followeth it without arguing, which is a good ſort of Politicks, and is attended with better ſucceſs: Wherefore *France*, ſeeing that ſhe could not catch at the Bait, raiſed him troubles in his Family, and with his Neighbours. But the Emperour's Council hath provided a remedy in time, which is the cauſe that the turbulent Spirit of *France* is not very familiar at this Court, and that they love Ducats there better than *Louis-d'ors*. But to be informed of what paſſeth there, they ſend thither Gentlemen that know how to ſuit themſelves to the humour of the Countrey, and eſpecially to drink hard, to the end that having made themſelves fit companions for the Table, and of a temper able to bear Wine, they may have an opportunity to ingratiate themſelves with them, and to wheedle them till they have wormed them by the Noſe when they are got a little merry: Inſomuch that when the Court of *France* would ſend an Envoy or Reſident to that of *Saxony*, they make ſpecial enquiry, whether he can drink ſtoutly or no, for this is one of the qualifications he ought to be endued with as well as that of Knavery.

As for the Electours of *Treves*, and *Mentz*, ſince *France* hath no apprehenſions of fear from them, as being Princes that can doe her no prejudice, ſhe lets them alone till a more convenient time; becauſe ſhe knows that, upon occaſion, ſhe can draw them with the kindly influence of her golden Rays, otherwiſe ſhe may proceed to threatenings, and force them that way to comply: The King hath nothing to doe but to ſend Troups to *Treves*,

where he hath put things into such a state, that they are not able to dispute the passage with him, so that he may make himself Master thereof when he pleaseth.

As for the Electour of *Colen*, we all know of what disposition he is, that he is a Prince that loves nothing but Peace, and that would end his Life in tranquillity, the better to mind his Devotion and Salvation; and this design is always commendable in a Prelate, and a Man of his character: But this quiet temper doth not in the least agree with that of *France*, that is boisterous, and always in fermentation. For this reason they have given the Archbishop an offspring of the spirit of *France*, that is, the Cardinal Bishop of *Straisburg*, who is as violent and as subtil as that which animates him. In the mean time their Bishop hath known so well how to take the ascendant on the mind of the Archbishop, that he governs him entirely; and through the means of the Bishoprick of *Munster*, that *France* hath procured for him with two millions, this Prelate cannot in honour draw back presently. I know very well, that the Pope, for good reasons, could not be perswaded to dispatch a Bull to this day; but it is sufficient for *France*, that by this Election, during the life of the Electour, the Chapter cannot think of another, much less fill up the place; and thus *France* is assured that no Prelate of the contrary party shall enter, and rests satisfied therewith.

How many Bishops are there in *France* without a Bull, that exercise their Functions, and enjoy the profit of their Bishopricks? The Pope cannot live for ever, and the King will endeavour to keep the ways open, to the end, that after the death of the Archbishop, some other Emissary of *France* may enter there, through the same golden Gate, this Bishoprick being of great consequence to him, as he very well remembers in the year 1672. I have said, that the Archbishop of *Colen* can hardly be brought off from the *French* Interest, the King having made provision in case of a change; and all that hath passed at *Liege*, is nothing but a stratageme, and through the suggestion of this Prince to create a misunderstanding between them, and to give the Citizens of *Liege* a continual *Idea* of discontent by the Cittadel that they have repaired, whereof *France* is sufficiently the Mistris: But this may be a cause of repentance to Mr. the Archbishop of *Colen*, in case he should have a mind to remove, or his Successour after him; for in the doubt at that time, who should succeed him, *France* foresaw afar off, and thought, by the means of what hath happened, to perswade the Chapter of *Liege* to cause the Coadjutourship of the Principality

bality and Bishoprick of that City to fall on the Cardinal of *Furstenburg*, but they being better advised than the other hoped, would not swallow the bait, but laughed at it; this obliged the King to apply himself to the Chapter of *Colen*, where he had better success; for, notwithstanding all the opposition of the Pope and the Emperour, he hath got beyond it; and the Cardinal hath obtained that which *France* desired. It is a long while since they first laboured to bring all this about, and ever since it was said that the Canons began to know the value of Gold, *France* prophesied nothing but good luck to her self; and found the way of *Colen* more easie than that of *Munster*.

France and the Cardinal know very well, that the Pope will not grant them a Bull for't, but they will have the same consolation as they had in the affair of *Munster*, they will pass well enough, no body being able to make any farther pretensions; and, as I have said, the Pope, being ancient, may dye, and another more gentle may succeed him.

Therefore by what we have seen to happen in our time, through the encroaching humours of *France*, have I not great reason to affirm, that the whole Empire, and the Electours, Kings, Princes, and Estates thereof, are highly concerned to oppose the designs of *Lewis* XIV. to hinder him from attaining the Imperial Throne, for fear they should be made slaves. Instead of the present managing and caressing some, he will then treat them as a Master; he will put off the Fox's skin, and resume that of the Lyon; then they will talk nothing but *such is my good will and pleasure*. To hinder him from thus aggrandizing himself, there is nothing but a Peace with the *Turks* that can put the Emperour in a condition to oppose him; the King will take care to make the Limits at *Ratisbonne*, during these contests; this gives him occasion to advance, and to build Forts to defend that which he shall usurp, as we see he doth already but too much; there must be an Army to drive him out thence. Have we not seen in *Flanders*, in a full Peace, of what the temper of *France* is capable? It is well known, that amongst other good qualities, she is endowed with the gift of usurping to admiration, and of always giving reasons for it, which she would obtrude upon the World as Articles of Faith, as well as *the King's just pretences to the Empire*, declared at large in a little Book, wherein the excellent Talent of one called *Aubri*, Advocate of the Parliament of *Paris*, is exercised. But the Manifesto that the King of *France* hath published lately at *Ratisbonne*, and in other Estates of the Empire, to justifie the usurping Fortification of *Tarbrack*, deserves well a place in this Treatise, to make appear to those that

that have not yet seen it, the weak reasons that he alledges to colour his infraction of the last Truce. See what his Minister hath openly published.

"The King being informed of the complaints that the Ministers of "the House of *Austria* make, on the account of certain Works that are made "at *Tarbrack* by his Majesty's order, which throughout the whole Empire "they style a contravention to the Treaty concluded in *October* 1684. His "Majesty finds himself obliged to order the Count *de Crecy*, his Envoy "extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Imperial Diet at *Ratisbon*, to re- "present to the Ministers of the Electours, Princes, and States of the Empire, "assembled at the same place, the little foundation there is for such a com- "plaint in itself, and the just occasion it gives to all those that are concer- "ned in the preservation of the publick repose, to believe, that it is a pre- "tence that they would make use of to trouble the same.

"First, it may be averred on very good grounds, that the Treaty "agreed to at *** cannot be properly called a Truce, the true defini- "tion thereof being only a toleration; by virtue of which, though War "doth always subsist, yet all actions of hostility ought to cease. There "there being at that time no rupture between *France* and the *Empire*, this "toleration may be considered, as a reciprocal promise of a mutual good "correspondence and union, during the term of twenty years; in conside- "ration whereof, the Emperour and Empire, on the one part, do suspend "themselves for the said time, from their sovereignty, right, superiority, and "protection, or any other pretention that they might have over the Ter- "ritories, Places, and Cities, that are escheated to *France*, before the first of "*August* 1681. And his Majesty likewise obligeth himself to make no farther "prosecution, nor pretence on the Empire during the said time. These "are the essential agreements, by which they were reciprocally assured of a "long continuation of amity and good understanding, that furnished the "means to the Imperial Arms to conquer all *Hungary*, and to put them- "selves, with the Empire, into a condition of undertaking a War, that other- "wise could not have been carried on, but at the vast expence, and perhaps "with the ruine of the Electours, Princes, and States of the Empire. But to "demonstrate clearly, how weak and unsupportable this pretence is of it- "self, it is requisite only to run through the several Articles of this Treaty: "And although it should be considered as a Truce, that hath not been sim- "ply concluded, but even to assure the security of the Empire; and to "procure the means to employ their Arms against the common Enemy,

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" it cannot be from thence maintained, that it can in any wise deprive " the King of a power to fortifie places, where his Majesty hath right " as well by the possession he hath already, as by the common consent of " the Empire agreed to in the said Treaty, and that he cannot act therein " with full authority. It is only needfull he have recourse to the treaties of " Truce that have been made heretofore, to see if the forbidding to fortifie " is not expresly therein contained, when the Parties were agreed. By " the permission of the Truce of *Bonevisi*, in the year 1537. it is said that " during the Cessation of Arms in the Low-Countries, King *Francis* I. " could not put any Troups into the County of St. *Paul*, nor make any " fortification there. This exception giveth plainly enough to understand, " that the King had liberty to cause places to be fortified thereabouts, and " elsewhere during the said Truce: Insomuch that they were obliged " to insert this Article into the Treaty, to take away from *France* this liberty " in the County of St. *Paul* only.

" The general Truce that was decreed at *Nice* in the year 1538. con- " firmeth this Article, touching the County of St. *Paul*; but it doth not " hinder the two Princes from making fortifications every where " else.

" The Truce made in the year 1555. makes no mention of this point; " but the Crown of *Spain*, and the States of the United Provinces, having " made a Truce in the year 1609. being willing by the 19th. Article " to take away from one another the power of making any new Fortress " in the Low-Countries, they put in this clause, *There shall be no* " *Fortress made in the Low-Countries, neither by the one side nor the other, during the* " *Truce.*

" When a Peace was treated at *Munster*, between *France* and *Spain*, the " greatest obstacle to the conclusion thereof, was, that the Catholick " King could not resolve to quit the right in *Catalonia*, which obliged them " to agree to a Truce of thirty years for that Province only, during which " each King preserved that which he possessed at that time. But there " arose another difficuly, which was, that the *Spaniards* would not suffer " them to fortifie the places in *Catalonia* during the Truce, which the " *French* would not agree to; saying, that it was not seasonable, since by it " they only put themselves in a posture of defence, and not offence, which " was permitted at all times; and would not receive the expedient offer'd " by the Ambassadours of the States General. The same case happens " now in this present Treaty. Every one knows that the forbidding to fortifie,

proposed

" proposed by the Emperour's Ministers in the 9th and 10th Articles of the " said project of the Empire, and that was then communicated reciprocally " by publick Writings, was rejected by *France*. Moreover, though the Im- " perial Ministers were not willing to consent that the Emperour should " yield to the King, the places whereof he was already possessed, which " his Majesty would never permit that they should be so much as touched, " limited, or diminished; nevertheless, not being able to obtain this demand, " they were forced to abandon it. It is not to be believed that the Imperial " Ministers would bring any induction, to serve as a ground for their com- " plaint from their 8th and 9th Articles of the Truce; forasmuch as the " first containeth only the re-establishment of the Lands to those proprietors " that would take the Oath of Fidelity; the sovereignty whereof hath been " granted to his Majesty: And the other imports that his said Ma- " jesty is obliged to leave to the Inhabitants, the free exercise of their Re- " ligion.

" Moreover the re-union of *Tarbrack*, having been irrevocably ad- " judged by the Decree of the Royal Chamber of *Metz*, in the month of " *April*, 1681. one cannot apprehend what pretence the Imperial Mini- " sters can have to accuse *France* of falsification of the Truce, since the " King from day to day giveth visible marks of his inviolable observation " of the least tittle of it, and that by his moderation he facilitates the progress " of the Imperial Arms, against the Infidels; which gives just ground of " suspicion of the design of the Court of *Vienna*, and that their Ministers " make it apparent enough on all occasions, that they are desirous to " keep the Truce no longer than till they shall be in a capacity to break " it.

" In the mean time, since this Truce hath given to Christendom the " happy repose that it at present enjoyeth, and hath afforded the means " to the Circles and States of the Empire, by their assistence, to cause " to fall on the *Ottoman* Empire the mischiefs with which the hereditary " Countries were threatened, it may be truly affirmed, that the Emperour " in all justice, doth owe the preservation of his Country to him, and all " the advantages that he hath gained of the Infidels. And his Ministers " are so much the more injurious to complain, in regard that his Majesties " making use of the full power that he hath to cause his frontier places to be " fortified, that have the greatest need thereof, may do it as a Sovereign, " who, for the better settling the repose and prosperity of his Subjects, " would cause the boundaries of his Dominions to be fortified, and would

not

"not thereby make it appear that he had any thoughts of invading his "Nighbour's Countrey, or of being willing to commence a War; even "so a private person employing himself in repairing the limits of his Lands, "to keep them in good condition, would thereby shew no desire of en- "croaching on those of another. But his Majesty hopeth of the Wisedom "and Prudence of the States of the Empire, assembled at *Ratisbon*, that "they will make serious reflections on the just suspicions that are the cause "of these ill grounded complaints of the Imperial Ministers to his Majesty; "and that they will find means that the good correspendence which his "Majesty intends to keep with the Empire, be not hindred nor interrupted. Given at *Fontain-bleau*, the 22th day of *October*, 1687.

Would not any one say that sees this Manifesto, that the Emperour is beholden to the King for all his Conquests over the *Turks*; and that without him the Empire had been lost: yet all the World knows as we have shewed, that he hath urged the Grand *Seignior* to break the Truce, and that he hath been aiding and assisting Count to *Tecekly*. But such is the continually shamming Disposition of *France*.

The Policy and Maxims of France, *with respect to* Spain.

FRom the Empire I pass into *Spain*, that for some time hath with *France* divided *Europe* into two parts, with respect to whom all the other Princes have took Parties, according as their Interests required: But the most part agreed in this, to help the weakest, and to endeavour to keep an equallity between them. The late Mr. *de Sully*, writing to *Henry* IV. concerning the quarrel with *Spain*, saith, that all encrease of the one, is reputed a diminution of the other. *Spain* hath always supported herself, till the time of *Philip* IV. though her fall began in the Reign of *Philip* II. by the War of the *Low Countries*; but since that time, and after the death of the last King *Philip* IV. *France* hath got the upper hand of her, and *Spain* hath yielded at one stroke. At the Festival of one of the Kings of *Spain*, who hath been canonized by the name of St. *Ferdinand*

dinand, the Preacher in his Sermon exalting the Grandeur of his King, ſaid, that if his God were not God, the King Don *Philip* would have been God. But I believe that his Succeſſour would be content with a leſs place, ſince the Face of affairs is ſo alter'd: Nevertheleſs *Charles* II. is alwayes King of *Spain*, and he hath the ſame *Indies*, and his Fleet ſails thither to and fro, all laden with Gold and Silver as formerly; and yet this *Spain* is no more the ſame that ſhe was heretofore, when ſhe was the jealouſie and terrour of all the Princes of *Europe*, who enter'd into Leagues together againſt her, to be in a condition to defend themſelves: But at preſent, being fleeced by one or another, ſhe is reduced to extremity; and if ſhe were not upheld by her Allies, *Lewis* XIV. King of *France* would be quickly at *Madrid*, and the *Low Countries*, in leſs than a Campaign, would fall under the Yoke of *France*; and with ſo much the more eaſe, in regard their lawfull Prince is childleſs, infirm, and at the very brink of a total ruine, and of becoming a ſport to the cruelty of the *French* Troups, if they ſhould oppoſe him; none being in a capacity to deliver him.

France is not ignorant of all this, and it is certain, that ſhe only waits for a convenient time, to put herſelf in poſſeſſion, in the *Dauphin*'s Name, of the Rights of the Queen, ſince the Kingdom of *Spain* falleth to Women, and that by a Woman alſo he is come into the Houſe of *Auſtria*, I mean, by the Marriage of *Joanna*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, with a Prince of that Family.

Since I have ſaid that *Spain* hath let her ſelf take wind by *France*, I ſhall only produce two Examples to confirm the truth of what I avouch. The King of *France* gave notice to the King of *Spain*, and to the States of the United Provinces, that if the ſaid King ſhould grant the Low Countries to the Duke of *Bavaria*, or only the Government thereof, as it was reported at the time of his Marriage with the Arch-Dutcheſs, he would then break the Peace without any other conſideration, ſince that could not be done but to the prejudice of the *Dauphin*'s Rights. It was Mr. *de Fouquier* that repreſented this to the King of *Spain*, and the Count *d'Avaux* to the States General: But let it paſs; it may be ſaid, perhaps, that *Spain* never thought of any ſuch thing, and that it was only a panick fear of *France*, nevertheleſs *Spain* therein manifeſted her weakneſs and want of courage; for in the Ceremony of a publick Entry at *London*, where the Ambaſſadours of *Spain* and *France* met, the Baron *de Wassenaer* took the Wall of Mr. *d'Estrades*; *France* failed not to make complaint thereof, but *Spain* was ſo timerous as to diſown the generous action of her Ambaſſa-

dour,

dour, and making a breach on her honour by a shamefull declaration, without any necessity, yielded the upper hand to *France*. I see no other reason for it, but the fear of the *French* King's Cannon-Law, and the apprehension of the Troups that he maintains to cause himself to be obeyed, and that are all in a readiness, if the death of the King of *Spain* should happen suddenly. Whatsoever precaution *Charles* II. may take for his Successour, if he pitch on one in his own Family, and according to the Testament and Intention of *Philip* IV. this Successour will have a great deal of trouble and a fierce War to undergo. The Queen, who is always on the *French* side by birth and inclination, hath her Party in the Kingdom, and after the King's death, will chuse much rather to cast herself into the Armes of her Cousin German than of a foreign Prince; at least, it may be done by a Marriage, that would be a great re-enforcement to her party. The Marriages of the *Infantas* of *Spain* with the Kings of *France*, have always made a great noise between the two Princes, and have been of lamentable consequence to the *Spaniards*; but that of *Mary Theresia* with *Lewis* XIV. is the top of all those misfortunes wherein *Spain* is on the very brink of being involved, whatsoever renunciation the King of *France* hath pretended to make; for his intention hath never been to keep what he then promised and swore. We see it apparent enough, by his hindering the Parliament from registering the *Pyrenean* Treaty, and by the Manifestoes that have been since dispersed through the World, concerning the just pretensions of the Queen of *France*. *Spain* reapeth no profit from the Marriages and Alliances with the King of *France*; on the contrary it turns to her great disadvantage, for by virtue of the last Marriage all these pretensions are formed: *Philip* II. was now wary, and preferred the Arch-Duke *Earnest*, and afterwards *Albert*. The Truce that *France* hath lately made, is only to amuse and to cast *Spain* and her Allies into a sleep, in obliging them thereby to disarm, whilst he keeps more than 150 thousand men on foot, and flutters up and down, sometimes in *Alsatia*, sometimes on the side of *Colen*, and often towards the *Low Countries*; all this is only an amusement to take away any mistrust or suspicion: But when time shall serve, you will see him fall on his Prey, which he will take away when they are not armed to resist him, and before the Allies can put themselves in a condition, the King of *France* will have done his business. So that this Truce being made only to divert the Princes of *Europe* from making a War with him; and that he may be in a capacity, immediately after the death of the King of *Spain*, to put himself in possession of the

Rights of the *Dauphin*, without any other form of Proceſs than that of his Cannon-Law; the *Spaniards* will find themſelves deceived in relying on this Truce, it is a broken Reed that will pierce through their hands: And if to their misfortune the Emperour is ſtill engaged in a War with the *Turk*, Who ſhall hinder the two *French* Armies, one in *Catalonia*, and the other in the *Low Countries*, from making themſelves Maſters of whatſoever ſtands in their way? I know very well, that it is the Intereſt of *England*, and of the States of the *United Provinces*, to defend the *Low Countries*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter: But one is ſo good a Friend, and hath ſo many affairs at home, that he will think no more of the *Low Countries*, than his Predeceſſour hath done of *Luxembourg*: As for the States, they have only Forces that may ſerve to defend their own Countrey, and the King will then ſet *Colen* and *Munſter* on their backs, to whom he will ſend Troups, as he hath done heretofore. I find, that it is a great errour in *Spain*, to ſend ordinarily Governours into the *Low Countries*, that go only to fill their Purſes, as they ſay, and then return; and the better to effect this, they muſt rob the King and the Countrey, and neither pay Citizens nor Troupers; which cauſeth many to deſert; inſomuch that very often inſtead of a thouſand Men in a Regiment there have been found but fifty; and I have ſeen once a whole Regiment, that changed Garriſon, carried in one Waggon. In fine, it is but being in *Flanders*, and what I here relate will be ſeen: The Soldiers pull off their Hats to you, as they mount the Guard, to beg an alms, and the Officers are forced to live with the *Capuchins* on the charity that theſe poor Fathers receive: The three laſt *Iriſh* Regiments that the King of *England* had granted to the King of *Spain*, for the Service of the *Low Countries*, and that have been effectually raiſed, are melted away as Snow before the Sun, and at preſent there can ſcarce be found fifty Men. *Spain* committeth another great fault, in my opinion, in truſting her Allies with the Guard of the *Low Countries*, and in neglecting, on this account, the means of maintaining a ſufficient number of Troups that ſhe ought to keep in continual pay for the preſervation of thoſe Countries. Moreover, we may be aſſured that *France*, knowing ſo well as ſhe doth the diſtemper of the Governours of the *Spaniſh Low Countries*, doth often feel their pulſe, and take advantage of their weakneſs. Moſt enlightened perſons will never be diſſuaded from the ſuſpicion they have, that the Marquiſs of *Grana* gave a helping hand, by the means of a certain Spring, to the taking of *Luxemburg*; the thing is as clear as the Sun at Noon, four or five millions that he hath left behind him

him are a great evidence. I would not tell you any thing impoſſible, or that doth not happen daily; there are few perſons in theſe times wherein we now live that are proof againſt a million; there are ſome, I confeſs, but be aſſured they are but rare. The *Low Countries* not being a Patrimony to the Governours, they often draw out thence as much as they can, as from Lands let out to farm: I would not ſay, that all thoſe that come thither are of the ſame ſtamp, (God forbid:) it would be very hard if there were no good and faithfull Subjects left in *Spain*; but it is certain, that for ſome Ages *France* hath been always coveting the *Low Countries*, ſhe believes that they belong to her juriſdiction and dependence; there is no trick nor wile that the ſubtil Spirit of *France* doth not invent to bring this to paſs, becauſe this little Countrey hath been a hard Bone for them to knaw, and the King, of late years, hath begun to bite at it very furiouſly. *France* is very ſenſible alſo, that if he could become Maſter thereof, he might employ all his Forces on the ſide of *Catalonia* and *Rouſſillon*, and having no more occaſion of fear or diſturbance in theſe Countries, might march in a little time to *Madrid*, where I ſee no great obſtacle, having once got ſome of the frontier places into his hands, to give him free ingreſs and egreſs. Wherefore the Council of *Spain*, conſidering the ſtrength of the *French*, ought to take other meaſures than they do for the defence of the *Low Countries*; and I can ſee but one way, in the ſtate wherein the affairs of *Spain* are at preſent, to apply a ſpeedy remedy thereto, at leaſt, if they are not willing that theſe Countries ſhould fall into the hand of the King of *France*, as will undoubtedly happen, if they do not, without further delay, take care to prevent it. It is certain that there is nothing but an Army, and a good General, that can be able to put a ſtop to thoſe miſchiefs that are juſt ready to fall on their head. We ſee after what manner the Troups that are there at preſent are managed and paid, and the ſmall number that there is of them, it would be requiſite to provide twenty thouſand effective Men more, beſides thoſe that are for the Garriſons of Places, and ten thouſand more in caſe of a rupture. But ſince *Spain* is not able to furniſh theſe, they ought to be levied and paid by the Cities and Towns, who will not refuſe to doe it for their own preſervation, and to keep themſelves from falling into the cruel ſlavery of the *French*, and from being ruined before they have time ſo much as to think on't; as ſeveral Towns and Villages have been, and the plain Countrey, within theſe few years, where the moſt ſacred places have not been ſpared. I know that this propoſition hath been ſet on foot

a great

a great while agoe, and that the Council of *Spain* hath always rejected it, for reasons of no great weight. Although there were (as there is indeed at present) a vigilant and faithfull Governour, yet it would be much better if the Duke of *Lorrain* were there, that great and valiant General, laden with Victories; who, being at the head of fourty thousand Men, would make *France* tremble, especially if he were back'd by the Prince of *Orange*. *France* hath her Emissaries at *Madrid* in the Council, as well as elsewhere, to oppose all that may obstruct her designs; and it is apparently better for the King of *Spain* to secure his *Low Countries* by a *Militia* maintained by the Towns, that will not be capable of being abused, than to see the said Countries lost for want of Forces sufficient to defend it: The last is at hand without remedy, but that which may hinder the first is only an apprehension that may be ill grounded, and that might have been good heretofore, but is not so in this conjuncture; for it seems best always to have regard to the most pressing necessity, since one is inevitable, and the other may not happen. I affirm again once more, that *France* can never compass her grand design without, in the first place, making herself Mistress of the *Low Countries*; for this reason *du Plessis* advised his Master to use his utmost efforts that way; and this is the only breach that *Spain* and her Allies ought most necessarily and diligently to stop up, as the overflowing of a Dike in a Tempest; as we shall see hereafter.

The Ambition and Interest of the King of *France* is a Torrent, whose impetuosity neither the affinity of Kindred, nor Alliances, nor Peace, nor Treaties, nor Truces, nor mutual Oaths and Promises, are able to stop; nay, I will add farther, nor even the very limits that God himself, by his wise Providence, hath set to every Monarchy, that seem to cry to every particular Monarch, *Non plus ultrà*.

But *Lewis* XIV. hath sworn not to be content with the portion that the supreme Monarch of the Universe hath allotted him. Who knows if he had conquered the whole World, whether he would not begin to build a second Tower of *Babel*, to scale Heaven? Ambition knows no bounds, but Destruction followeth Pride.

Let not the Council of *Spain* dream of a deceitfull Truce, it is a *Dalilah* that will one day cry to the *Spaniards*, *The hand of the* Philistins *be upon thee*; but I fear lest the same may not happen as did to *Sampson*, who awaking, and finding himself tied and bound, could not then avoid falling as a prey and conquest to his enemies.

The

The Grandees of *Spain*, are a great help to the King of *France*, and do much promote, without thinking thereof, the advancement of his design, and the maintenance of his ambition, because they enrich themselves at their Master's cost; and take away the means of being able to keep Soldiers in constant pay, for their own defence: but if they were well advised, they would seriously reflect on their present condition, and on that wherein they would be, if they should fall under the Dominion of *France*: that by drawing such a Parallel, they may thence gather good advice for the future; for they ought to consider, that if a *French* man should come to the Throne, the *Spaniards* would then be but very little regarded, and despised as miserable wretches. The Antipathy that there is between these two Nations, would not permit this new King to put any confidence in them, and all their Grandeur would serve only for a laughing-stock, and mockery, to the Court of *France*: For the *Spaniards* cannot promise themselves, if this should happen, that the *Dauphin* being alone, would leave *France*, to go and live in *Spain*: the Kings of *France* would always esteem *Versailles* beyond the fairest City of *Spain*. They would send thither Vice-Roys, *French* men by birth and inclination, and enemies to the *Spaniards*; that they might not entertain any correspondence with them: and these Governours, or Vice-Roys, would carry behind them, for their better baggage, an Excise-Office, that would soon beget a multitude of Imposts next the *Taille*, the *Taillon*, the *Aide*, the *Octroi*, the *Preciput*, the *Equivalent*, Free-gifts, and extraordinary Gratuities: Imposition upon Wine, *Gabelle* upon Salt, Corn, and Meal, Tobacco, and Perukes, and all sorts of Stuffs, and Linen: Imposts on Meat, stamping of Paper, Silver, Tin, and Pewter; on Shoes, and silk Stockings: Impositions on Ice, proving of Deeds, *&c.* Taxes on *Fanes*, *Fiefs*, and new Acquisitions, *Quint*, and *Requint*, extinctions of all sorts of Offices, the price of Evaluation, two Sols in every *Livre* the right of the Seal, Comptrolling, Registring, and Administring Oaths, Diminution of Wages, Custome, *Garnison*, *Mortepaie*, charges of recovering the Imposition of the eighth Penny, and the reuniting to the Crown all that hath been given or sold. Finally, the *Spaniards* would be often haunted with these great Devils of Farmers, and Excisemen, who would continually fall upon them as a conquered Countrey; and would moreover, put an excise on the Sun, since they know that the *Spaniards* make use of it instead of a fire.

Therefore I affirm, that *Spain* ought to endeavour to procure the Emperour to accept of a Peace, or Truce, with the Grand *Seignior*, and to

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cast her eyes, during the life of the King now Reigning, on a Prince that may succeed him; and that this Prince ought to go before the time to *Madrid*, there to make his residence in the heart of the Kingdom to defend it; to cause himself to be Crown'd immediatly after the death of the King, to seize on the Seals and Papers belonging to the Crown; and to hinder the Grandees of *Spain* from taking part with any but himself, as their lawfull Sovereign and Master.

Lastly, *Spain* ought in due time to provide for the preservation of the *Low-Countries*, and at once to lay aside an ill opinion that their Council hath conceived, that *England* and the *United Provinces* ought to defend them, for their own Interest. It is true, I confess, that they ought to doe it; but if *France* can take off *England* from her true Interest, and divert her from these sentiments; I say, if this should happen, the *United Provinces*, whatsoever good intentions or interest they may have for the preversation of the *Low Countries*, will not be able alone to put a stop to the *French* fury; that like an impetuous torrent will carry before it the best part of *Flanders*: Therefore it behoves *Spain* to take care thereof, in good earnest, and not to slumber whilst the Spirit of *France* is on the wing, and prepareth with a long Arm to reach so great an affair; and would not return again, if this opportunity should be lost, of becoming Master thereof. *Spain* ought to doe the same, and be as active, if she intends to preserve her self, and not to fall under the *French* Tyranny, which is the greatest misfortune that can possibly happen to her; the ruine and desolation of her People, and the scorning and abasing of all the *Spanish* Nobility who would be forced to give place to every pitifull ordinary *French* Gentleman: Therefore if the *Spaniards* are well advised, after the death of their King they ought not to deliver the Monarchy to *Lewis* XIV. but with their lives; nor in the least to trust the violent and haughty Spirit of *France*.

The

The Policy of France, *and its Maxims, with respect to* England.

HENRY VIII. King of *England*, caused in his time a Medal of gold to be made, whereon was engraven a hand issuing out of the clouds, and poising a balance, the two scales whereof represented *Spain*, and *France*, with this motto; *Let him take me for whom I am.* It seems this Prince was sensible of his own power; but now I may compare *England* to an Ox, that, not knowing his own strength, tamely submits his neck to the yoke. This Kingdom hath this advantage, that it is its own Protectour; and that the enemies thereof cannot, without a great deal of difficulty, attack it by Land. They would be obliged for the effecting this to pass the Sea often; to fight with the Waves and the Winds, and a powerfull Fleet, before they could be able to set foot on land. Insomuch, that it is apparent that the King of *Great Britain*, being at Peace with the United Provinces, is able to inspire a vigorous motion into the Party he is joyned with. *France* knows this truth so well, that though there is a natural hatred and antipathy between these two Nations, yet she hath spared nothing, and hath left no stone unturned to take him off from his true Interests, and to draw him to her Party; or at least, to cause him to stand neuter, and to behold, with his armes folded, the King of *France* acting his Tragedy on the Theatre of *Europe*. And it is certain, that *England* alone is in a better capacity than any other Kingdom or State, to rescue this same *Europe*, from falling into the slavery of *France*.

If the King of *Great Britain* did but know his own strength, and proper Interest, he might not only be the Mediatour, and Arbitratour, of the Universe, but also be able to give peace, when he should think fit, to all the Christian Princes. To attain to this there are but two things requisite, that are very easie to be done, and even in the King's power whensoever he pleaseth: The first is, that it is necessary that the King of *Great Britain* should so act, as to be always well beloved by his People, and in a good

union with his Parliament: the second is to make a League with the States of the *United Provinces*, and to live with them in a perfect and sincere amity, union, and correspondence, for the defence of the common cause. The first is most ease to be done, and the King will soon obtain it, if he take care to require nothing of his Parliament but what is agreeable to the Laws of the Kingdom; and the second shall be done as soon as the King of *Great Britain* shall cease to hearken to the Emissaries of *France*, and will lay aside all those jealousies and suspicions with which they endeavour, daily to prepossess him; since there is nothing to be feared from the States, who do not desire to aggrandise themselves, and to usurp their Nighbours Territories, as *France* doth; but only to preserve that which God hath given them, and to protect their People in the liberty that they now enjoy.

France, that knoweth what I have alledged, loseth no opportunity of opposing this; she continually letteth loose some of her deceitfull and turbulent Spirits to sow the Tares of misunderstanding between the King and his Parliament. In the time when the Kings of *England* seemed to be Protestants, the *Catholicum* wrought its effect, and the Spirit of *France* especially labour'd to stir up the Episcopal Party against the Presbyterian, and to make the latter believe that the Bishops were inclining to the Catholick Religion; and that the most part of them were Jesuites in Bishop's cloathing, that would not fail by degrees to seduce the People, and to turn their coat as soon as they thought the times convenient for the discovery of their opinion; and that the King himself was of the same mind: These and a thousand other things of the like nature they spread abroad, that exasperated the People against the King, and cast just suspicions into the Parliament, who would often grant nothing, or very little of what the King demanded, so that having so much business at home, he could not observe what was done abroad. In the Reign of *Charles* I. it was *France* that lighted the first sparks of those Civil Wars, that have cost the King and the People so much bloud: For when the *French* Ambassadour was about returning from *England*, he boasted that he had kindled a fire, that would not be extinguished in a long time, and that for more than twenty years the *English* would not be in a condition to demand any thing of *France*. One Father *Joseph* a Capuchin, and an Agent for the Catholicks, contributed very much under-hand to the enflaming this division; and I assure you that of these very same Catholicks, there were a great number in the Parliament Army: King *Charles* hath complained thereof himself, saying that

this

this Rebellion in them, proceeded from his refusing to admit them into Offices and places of Trust; and after the War was declared between the King and his Parliament, the King of *France* sent six hundred thousand Livres to *Cromwell* to pay his Soldiers in the beginning; it is a notorious thing, and well known to all that lived in those times. But now since the King of *Great Britain* hath changed the opinion in Religion, *France* hath also turned her battery, and planted her great Cannon against the Church of *England*; and the Spirits are so heated one against another, that for a long time his Majesty could not think of any thing elsewhere; and will find so many affairs and troubles in his Kingdom to encounter with, in gaining his design, even though he should have a Parliament to his mind, that if he should live twenty years longer, he would not see the end, but would be forced to leave the Matter to his Successour: So that during all these misunderstandings the King had need to stand on his Guard; especially not being able to disband his Forces, and not having any fond of money to maintain them. In the mean time *France* will doe what she pleases, and will seize on the *Low Countries*, and all *Spain*, if the King of *Spain* should happen to die, which *France* expecteth with great impatience.

As for the second, that is the League with the *United Provinces*, and a good harmony and correspondence between these two Powers; for the opposing all Kings and Princes who shall have a mind to break the Peace of Christendom; it is certain that the States would desire it, provided they might see a possibility of engaging with certainty, and of being assisted as occasion serves: but there is very little appearance of this, as long as affairs shall remain in the same state as they are at present in *England*. This is what *France* would willingly see, because the conjunction of these two Powers would be able to divert her from many enterprises, and make her affraid to undertake any thing contrary to the last Treaties of Peace at *Nimueguen*, and the Truce. But *France* takes a great deal of care to hinder it; and that distrust that she creates, is a pair of Spectacles for *England*, that thicken the objects of the least affair that happens; whether it were caused by private persons or otherwise, it hath been made Treason. It is but reflecting a little on the matter of *Bantam*, that would have been accommodated a great while ago; but *France* thinks it more for her advantage, that it should remain as it is, and never be finished, lest they should come to a good agreement. The Union of *England* with the *United Provinces*, would not further the design of *France* on the *Spanish Low Countries*, for if *England* would stir, the *French* King could never accomplish it. If

the late King had only made a ſhew of moving, the *French* could never have taken *Luxemburg*; but he knew how to take him by the blind ſide, and to dazle the eyes of that good Prince, that he ſaw not the miſchief till after the City was loſt. *England* hath tranſgreſſed againſt her own Intereſt in ſurrendring *Dunkirk*, a Town that opened a gate for her to enter into *France* and the *Low Countries*: But it would be quite another thing if theſe Countries ſhould fall into the power of *Lewis* the Great, and if he ſhould joyn by this conqueſt *Newport* and *Oſtend* to *Dunkirk*, *Fluſhing* would at length be under his juriſdiction: He might then juſtly diſpute the dominion of the Sea with the King of *England*, and interrupt his Commerce. And if at length the King of *France* ſhould make himſelf Maſter of the *United Provinces*, ſince they are misfortunes that may happen, the *Low Countries* being loſt, *England* may fairly reckon herſelf one of the number. Wherefore, Queen *Elizabeth* ſaid heretofore to Monſieur *de Sully*, Ambaſſadour of the moſt Chriſtian King, that neither *France*, nor *England*, nor the other Princes, had any right to pretend to the *Low Countries*; and that ſhe would never ſuffer the King to think thereof.

" The ſame *Sully*, writing to *Henry* IV. tells him, That notwithſtanding " the ſaying of the Queen, he might, by the help of a great Army, find " out a way to keep his friends within their duty, and ſeize on the Terri- " tories and Towns of the *Low Countries*, when he ſhould think convenient, " entirely and inſeperably to join *France* to the *United Provinces*, which " is the only means (ſaid he) to re-eſtabliſh *France* in her ancient ſplen- " dour, and to make her predominant over all the reſt of Chriſtendom; " for if once the Provinces of *Luxemburg*, *Juliers*, *Mark*, *Mons*, *Limburg*, " *Aix*, and *Cleves*, were any ways united to *France*, there is no doubt but " that the reſt of the Countrey would be forced to follow their example, " being ſeperated from all communication with the other. *France* hath always inclined to that ſide, ſince ſhe hath ſeen that ſhe could not gain her deſign by *Italy*, as the *Romans* did heretofore: Although all the Princes of *Europe* have an apparent Intereſt to hinder this conqueſt, yet theſe two Powers only that are neareſt can doe it beſt, and are moſt concerned to ſtop the Progreſs of *France* in the *Low Countries*, that would occaſion, as I have ſaid, moſt lamentable conſequences. As for *Spain* of herſelf, ſhe is as it were a Body excluded from its Members, and that hath nothing left but the Tongue. *England* can doe much for the preſervation of the *Low Countries*, and if her King had not promiſed to ſtand ſtill, *Luxemburg* had remained in its former ſtate, and would have been a bone for *France* to pick. His moſt

moſt Chriſtian Majeſty knows this very well, and therefore he takes ſo much pains to keep the King of *England* in his intereſts; and if he will not declare for him, at leaſt to cauſe him to ſtand neuter: for this end he ſpares nothing, neither Preſents, nor Penſions, nor Artifices; and it may be avouched for certain, that this money that *France* gives, is a Snake lurking under the leaves of the Roſe; they are lips that flatter for the preſent, but will deceive in the end; they are Iron Chains lacquer'd over with Gold, fair in appearance to draw and cheat the *Engliſh*: but they will one day feel the weight of them, if they do not in time diſcover the ſnare, and the deſign of him that offers them, who will at laſt enſlave them that cannot ſubſiſt but by the equal poiſe of the two Monarchies of *France* and *Spain*. I conclude then that the King of *England* hath a remarkable Intereſt, for his own preſervation and the benefit of Trade, to oppoſe the conqueſts of the King of *France* in the *Low Countries*; but if he neglect to doe it, and if after the loſs of theſe Countries, the latter ſhould unfortunately become Maſter of all the ſeventeen Provinces, which is his great aim, and may happen if the States are left deſtitute of ſuccour, in what a condition will *England* be? *France* would be ſtronger at Sea and in the *Indies* than ſhe, would intercept her commerce every moment, and would conſtantly keep a good Fleet at Sea, that would not ſuffer ſo much as a Cat to goe out of the Ports of *England* without their permiſſion, and upon the leaſt motion, her deſtruction would be certain, and without redreſs; ſince none could or durſt ſo much as ſtir in her own defence.

Moreover the true Policy of *England* is to keep *France* low, as well for the preſervation of the dominion of the Sea, as to lay hold on a favourable opportunity of recovering her ancient jurisdiction that *France* detains from her, *viz*. *Britaigne*, *Normandy*, *Poitou*, *L'anguedoc*, and even *France* itſelf, by the Marriage of the King of *England* with *Margaret*, Daughter to *Philip* the Fair; for of this Marriage was born *Henry* V. King of *England*, who had the ſame right to *France* that the *Dauphin* hath to *Spain*. The three Sons of King *Philip* the Fair, *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip* the Long, and *Charles* the Fair, all dyed without Male Iſſue, and then it was when the King of *England* claimed his Right to the Kingdom of *France*; that they made the *Salique* Law, on occaſion of a Sermon Preached by the Biſhop of *Beauvais* before the Aſſembly of the States, proving by the Goſpel, that the Lillies ſpin not, and conſequently that the Flowre-deluce, that repreſents *France*, ought not fall into the hands of a Woman. But this Law can only ſerve for the future, and not for the time paſt. At length

length *Henry* V. King of *England*, who went into *France* with a Puiſſant Army, and won ſeveral Battels, married *Katharine*, the Daughter of *Charles* VI. and in the year 1421. it was concluded and agreed, that *Henry* ſhould be King of *France*, and *Iſabella* Queen, who was the Mother of *Katharine* Queen of *England*, and made her Will in favour of her Son in Law, declaring him Heir of all her Goods, and of the Crown; which is a farther augmentation of the Right of the Kings of *England* to the Kingdom of *France*.

If the King of *France* had but half as much Right to *England* as the King of *England* hath to *France*, we ſhould ſee abundance of Manifeſtoes, and Writings, diſperſed abroad to prove his juſt pretenſions, as he calls all that he makes.

Therefore on whatſoever ſide the King of *England* regards *France*, ſhe ought always to be ſuſpected by him; he ought to beware of her as of a private Enemy, knowing her to be ſuch; he ought to believe that ſhe flatters, only that ſhe may play her pranks the better, and becauſe he alone is able in a great meaſure to fruſtrate her deſigns: ſo that it is no wonder that King *Lewis* XIV. hath ſpread nothing to ſatisfie the Neceſſities and Pleaſure of the late King *Charles* II. Mr. *Barrillon*, and Madam the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, are witneſſes thereof: But I can aſſure you that the King of *France* regards Princes and private Perſons no farther than they are uſefull to him; nay, I may add, that Vertue it ſelf is not eſteemed by him, but only ſo far as it may be ſerviceable to his Intereſt. You have ſeen what reſpect he hath ſhewn to the Princes and Princeſſes of *England* during the Government of *Cromwell*: Were they not obliged to go out of *France*, not to ſay that they were driven out thence? What entertainment, or what ſubſiſtence have theſe baniſhed Princes received from *France*? It is to the Houſe of *Orange* that they have been indebted, that hath furniſhed them with conſiderable Summs: but *France* on the contrary, was the cauſe of the firſt troubles in *England*, would not receive the Princes, and hath never contributed in the leaſt to the Reſtauraton of the late King.

All things being conſidered, neither the Reſentments of the Royal Family, nor the Intereſt of *England*, will permit the King to make any ſtrict Alliances with *France*, that may be capable of blinding him, whilſt *Lewis* XIV. takes the *Low Countries*; on the contrary, he ought to be always ready to hinder the leaſt motion towards it, at the ſame time, making uſe of ſix Regiments that he hath in *Holland*, which the States will not refuſe him on ſuch an occaſion, till he can tranſport other Forces into *Flanders*. I am

of

of opinion, that these six Regiments will be able to make head against double the number of *French*; and then, if *England* do but only shew her Teeth, *Europe* will be in safety. Resist the Devil and he will flee from you, but if you are affraid of him he will master you.

France hath cut out work for King *James*, now reigning; the affair that he hath undertaken is so great, that very many fear, and others hope, that he will never be able to dispatch it as long as he lives. It is not a time to alter the Laws when the Enemies are at the Gates; it is not always a time to act the Missionary; there is often occasion to fight, and to make it appear that he is both a Soldier, and a Statesman. All the World was in a great expectation of what the King would doe; his great Courage caused all *Europe* to hope for an universal consolation, and some relief for *Spain*: but what can his Allies, or *Spain*, look for, as long as he is amused, and led aside by the *Jesuites*, and kindles a fire in his own Kingdom that perhaps he will not be able to quench when he would, and as long as he durst not call a lawfull and free Parliament. *Spain* hath been ruined by the departure of the *Moors*, and *France* hath weakened herself by her conversions, and by the expulsion of the *Huguenots*; and she would fain have the King of *England* doe the like. We ought not to rob God of his right; the Office of a Converter belongs to him, and it is in his power alone to cause the whole World to be of one mind; so that leaving this care to God, the King of *England* ought to take that upon him of preserving his Kingdom, and to hinder it from being cheated by the King of *France*, and to compell him to stay at home, and not break through his Nighbour's Land-mark. In so doing the King will shew his great Courage, and satisfie the expectation all the People of *Europe*.

The

The Policy of France, *and its Maxims, with respect to the* United Provinces.

THE States of the *United Provinces* after they had, by the force of their Arms, compelled *Spain* to acknowledge them as Free States, Sovereign, and depending on none but God alone, were for some time the admiration of their Nighbours, and every one strove to procure an Alliance with them; and it might be said without flattery, that they were looked upon as the Arbitratours of *Europe*: but since the War in the year 1672. this high reputation hath been a little diminished, and *France* hath plaid her part so well, that they were almost brought to the very brink of Destruction, till, by a sudden change the People entrusted the Command into the hands of his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and punished some ill-affected Persons. But God, who was willing by his Providence to preserve this little Countrey, after the taking of *Naerden*, struck their Enemies with a panick fear, insomuch that they decamped in greater haste than when they came. That which contributed much to these misfortunes was, that beside the Treachery and Intelligence that *France* kept there, they were unprovided of good Soldiers, and of a General. These Provinces relied on the Peace, and on the deceitfull Promises of *France*, that in the mean time privately carried on her designs against them. We see by experience, that in the time of a profound peace the *Militia* becomes slothfull, an effeminate luxury reigns for a while, and the People laying aside the care of Arms, give themselves up to the prosecution of things more profitable and gainfull; and, when the Enemy approacheth, they easily betake themselves to a shamefull flight, very far from that Glory which was heretofore the predominant passion, as we have seen in these last Wars. *France* was very sensible, that as long as the United Provinces wanted a Captain General, their *Militia* would be but in a very bad condition, and without defence; therefore she hath taken so much pains by her wiles, and false insinuations, and by abetting and poisoning the minds of the contrary Party, to hinder the Prince of *Orange* from coming to the Government,

Government, and to that Dignity wherewith he is now inveſted. By this means the States were weakened daily, their Soldiers were diſperſed, their Fortifications were neglected, their ſtrongeſt Places fell to ruine, and their Megazines were ill provided with Ammunition; whilſt *France* levied Troups privately without any noiſe, and made ſecret Alliances with *England*, the Archbiſhop of *Colen*, and the Biſhop of *Munſter*. *Du Pleſſis* ſaid very well, that all States are not to be accounted ſtrong or weak, but in compariſon with the ſtrength or weakneſs of their Nighbours; that for this cauſe wiſe Princes endeavour to keep the Balance even, as much as they can, to the end that they may remain in peace and amity together, and that as ſoon as this is wanting, peace and amity is diſſolved, as being founded only on a mutual fear or eſteem one of another. This is ſo true, that a wiſe Prince is always ſuſpicious of the leaſt riſing or motion of his Nighbour, though it be in the middle of a Peace or Truce; he hath a watchfull eye upon it continually, and ſtrives to be informed of his Enemy's or his Nighbour's deſign, even before it comes to light, for he is thereby enabled to break their meaſures; and it is in this point that Princes and States who act ſparingly are deficient, it is a ſort of covetouſneſs that coſts its Maſter very dear, and in the end is the cauſe of a War that might have been prevented with a little precaution. *France* is ſo well aſſured of this truth, that ſhe neglects nothing in affairs of this nature; her Ambaſſadours in all the Courts of *Europe* have money for this purpoſe, and they cannot pleaſe their Maſter any way better, than by corrupting one or more of the Council of that Prince, or State, where they reſide; they ſtudy this day and night, and ſpare nothing: When they cannot catch the Maſter of a Family, they try to gain his Wife, to the end that ſhe may pump her Husband as occaſion ſerves; for want of this they apply themſelves to one of the Children; and if this fails, they tamper even with the domeſtick Servants, whom they gratifie proportionably to the ſervices they perform. Theſe Maxims have proved ſucceſsfull to admiration in States where there are many Heads, as alſo in the *United Provinces*, who are a great obſtacle to the King of *France* in his conqueſt of the *Spaniſh Low Countries*; for he knows well that having obtained the one, the other will follow; wherefore his great buſineſs is, to deceive the States of the *United Provinces* with a Truce, that he will break when he pleaſeth, hoping, that during that time they will neglect their *Militia*, as they have done formerly, and will give themſelves up wholly to Traffick. For the King is not ignorant, that the States being awakened, and on their guard,

will never consent to the taking of the *Spanish Netherlands*; at least, they ought not to doe it, since it is the only bar between *France* and them, which they ought to be as carefull to maintain, as they would be to preserve their Nighbour's house from being burnt. For the better attaining this end, what hath not the Count *d'Avaux* done to divide the Provinces against one another, and even the Cities and Towns of *Holland*, and especially *Amsterdam*? What offers and what promises hath he not made in order to bring this to pass? It is not a secret matter, the very Children may see it plainly, by the frequent journies that this Ambassadour continually makes to this great City. It is not to be believed, that *Mombas* is alone; for in retiring into *France* he hath left many Disciples behind him, who walk abroad in the night but disappear in the day. But it is so much the better, in regard that the Count *d'Avaux* begins to be known, and his Doctrine is no longer believed; he hath abused the credulity and good nature of many, but they have discover'd his frauds, and are got clear from his illusions. Moreover, the malignant Spirit of *France* delights to foment divisions between *England* and the *United Provinces*, understanding well that these two Powers joined together, are able to give it a mortal wound: how jocund do they appear when they can see them at variance, and unawares promoting their designs? The last War that these two Sovereigns waged one against another, was caused by an affair of Trade. Whilst the King of *England* prepared to arm, the King of *France* offer'd under-hand to make a Treaty with the States, on purpose to delude them, as they saw when they desired to come to a conclusion; they were surprised when of a sudden *France* took part with *England*, and whilst one fell upon them by Sea, the other attacked them by Land; insomuch that thinking the Conquest of the *United Provinces* already certain, they had divided the Countrey betwixt them, one was to have the maritime Places, and the other those on the Land; but *Amsterdam* caused a difference, by reason that each Prince pretended that it belonged to his share; however, there was no need for them to cast lots, since God did not suffer it to fall into their hands; for every one went home again, by the means of a Peace that the *English* first made. Afterwards *France* used her utmost diligence to draw off the States from their Allies; and when the King saw that Fortune began to change, that the *Hollanders* were come to themselves, and that their Forces began to be mustered in good order, having a good General at their head, he promoted the Peace of *Nimueguen* with all his might, and surrendred *Maestricht* (as I have

have ſaid) that was yet in his hand. Since that time he hath only barked afar off, and he hath very much feared leſt the States ſhould raiſe the laſt ſixteen thouſand men, for the Count *d'Avaux* hath ſpared nothing to hinder it, and will continue to doe ſo as often as the States ſhall have a mind to arm, becauſe it obſtructs his Conqueſts and Deſign. In the mean time, I will once more urge it, that it is the Intereſt of the States not to permit this Bar to be taken, for it is moſt certain that they would be ruined, and would in a few years become a prey to the Uſurper, on the leaſt quarrel the King ſhould raiſe. He would declare his Intentions, his Pretenſions, and his eſtabliſhed Right, that theſe Provinces did heretofore belong to *Mary* of *Bourgogne*, to *Charles* V. and at length to *Philip* II. that the ſaid Provinces did undoubtedly appertain to them, that they were the lawfull Poſſeſſours thereof, againſt whom they had rebelled, and had cauſed themſelves to be acknowledged free by force. He will offer to maintain them in their Privileges, and in the exerciſe of their Religion, provided they will ſubmit voluntatily: In caſe they do willingly yield, he will by little and little invade their Privileges, and will take away Offices and Employments from all thoſe that are of the Reformed Religion, as he hath done to his own Subjects in *France*; but if they reſiſt, he will attack them by force of Arms, as he did in the year 1672. being aſſured, that all the Catholick Princes will not oppoſe him, becauſe he hath blinded them with the falſe pretence of Religion. But if the Houſe of *Auſtria* ſhall be ſo far amuſed as to ſuffer herſelf to be caught in the Trap with ſuch falſe Baits, ſhe is utterly ruined, notwithſtanding all her Catholickſhip. But I find that the States of the *United Provinces*, under God, ought to rely on nothing but their own Strength, and having no ground of fear from any but *France*, to defend and fortifie themſelves only againſt this Power, that hath for a long time aimed at their deſtruction; which if it cannot accompliſh, it may at leaſt reduce them to ſo low a condition as wholly to depend thereon. The King would willingly make ſuch a ſort of an agreement with them as the Wolf in the Fable would with the Sheep, *Let but your Sheepherd and your Dog withdraw*, ſaid the Wolf to theſe ſilly Creatures, *and we ſhall be in perfect Amity and Alliance together, and ſhall live in peace one with another*: In like manner, *Diſband your General, and all your old Soldiers*, ſaith *Meſſire* the King, *it will be ſo much Money ſpared in a time of Peace, you may be aſſured of my Friendſhip, and ſafely rely on the Truce, and we ſhall live together in a good union and correſpondence.* But the *Italian* Proverb ſaith, *Truſt not, and thou ſhalt not be deceived.* So that their beſt way is, as I have ſaid, to truſt only and ſolely in their own Forces,

to have always a good Fleet of Ships out at Sea, both to be for Convoys, and to cruise about, and to have another in a readiness to send to *France*, if there should be occasion. Maritime Forces are the right hand of the State, and serve to disperse many fogs of evil thoughts that *France* often raiseth against her Nighbours. And if ever the States could resolve to entertain a certain number of Sea-men, to be ready to embark in their Men of War, on all occasions when it should be requisite, they would thence reap a double advantage: for first, the States would always have a competent number of People at hand, capable, and in a readiness to defend them, without going to seek for, or levying any, and such who would have, as it were, a Sea-fort, by the continual business they have therein: and secondly, It would draw an abundance of Mariners of the nighbouring Ports, who would come and offer themselves to be listed, and especially the Subjects of the States that are now in foreign service, who would chuse rather to return into their own Countrey, and enjoy the benefit of a constant employment throughout the whole year, whether it were on Sea or Land: It would only be necessary by a Plachart somewhat strict, to recall those that are abroad. It is certain *France* could not then hire any of them; for I can assure you, that they never set out any Men of War without *Hollanders* in them, and especially Pilots, being much more willing to trust to the skill and experience of the *Dutch* Seamen, than to those of their own Nation, that are altogether ignorant in a long Voyage. If ever the States should come to so profitable and good a resolution, you would immediately see the Mercurial Spirit of *France* on the wing, and the Count *d'Avaux* running like an Hare from Town to Town to distribute his just oppositions. But we may hope, since he begins to despair of Credit, by reason of the little effect that all his promises have produced of late, for want of being seasoned with the salt of Truth, and of good Faith, which are essential ingredients for preserving the reputation of a Minister in foreign Countries, that he will doe nothing but wear out his own Lungs. The obligation that the King hath to this great Minister is, that he hath put *France* into the Belly of many of the Subjects of their High and Mightinesses, who have no reason to thank him for't. *France* hath another great help in the *United Provinces* by the means of the *Jesuites*, and some other foreign Priests, who are employed to espy, and to endeavour to divert the good intentions of several; they are in the Court of the Prince of *Orange*, and have Friends there, who serve them on occasion, they are so bold as to brag, that they are informed of the very

very ſecrets of his privy Chamber, and forget nothing to play their Game well; how many are the Troups in the Garriſons? and all this calculated for the Meridian of the *Hague*, where the Council is kept, as being the receptacle of all the other Provinces and Cities; and they ought to have a little more particular regard to this, for all this ſort of Cattel is only animated by the Spirit of *France*, that is always in action, and ſpares nothing when it thinks any one fit for the purpoſe. I remember, that not long agoe four Ducatoons by the week were offered to a Servant of one of the Deputies of the States, only to relate what he heard his Maſter ſay, either at Table or in converſation with the other Deputies; but he rejected theſe offers with ſcorn, and ſome hard words, as he had good reaſon to doe.

This may be ſufficient to make it appear, that the violent Spirit of *France* attacks every where, and there is always need of circumſpection to ward off the blows. I have obſerved alſo certain little ſpies, that run to and fro through the principal Cities, eſpecially the *Hague*, and change their Ordinaries and Table every day, at leaſt when they find any thing to faſten upon, and that there is a good harveſt for them; and therefore they that are obliged to frequent Ordinaries, had need be cautious: Others run into the Countrey, and ſome to Court, at the time when the Prince and Princeſs are at Dinner, or at Supper, but all for the ſame end; to hear what is ſaid, to learn what paſſeth, and what wheel is in motion. As ſoon as theſe Hawkers have heard or ſeen any thing of moment, you ſhall ſee them flock like Bees to the Lodgings of the *French* Ambaſſadour, who rewards their diligence with a morſel of bread and a few hot ſuppings, his Table at preſent being at moſt ſeaſons filled with ſuch ſort of Vermine; I could name a dozen that drive this petty Trade, whom I know, beſides thoſe that doe it more privately, and come not to the offering till night, through the Stable-gate. The Count *de Caravas*, one of theſe Spies of the higher rank, though in my opinion of very little uſe, when he came from Court, never took care to obſerve ſuch meaſures, but went to give an account in the middle of the day, and at the Fore-door. Two *Jeſuites*, that I know to be ſuch, come every day to Court, cloathed like Officers, at the riſing, dining, and ſupping of the Prince, and during the whole day, where they have ſo many Intrigues and Friends, that they know well how to find means to procure Offices for their Catholick Friends, and all theſe are Emiſſaries of *France*, ſold to her ſervice. There are others that creep into ſervice, even to the very Kitchin, where the *Genius* of this ſort of

of People is very dangerous. I conclude then, that care ought to be taken on all sides, and in all times, in peace, and war, to intercept this Spirit of *France*, and its pernicious and antichristian Maxims; since the King is as deceitfull as he is perjured, in pretending to establish every where the Catholick Religion, that he denieth in his Life and breach of Faith, when he hath no other end but to set up an universal Dominion over all *Europe*; first to subdue the Protestant Princes, if he can, and afterwards the Catholicks, and to cause himself to be declared, not *Roman* Emperour, but Emperour of *Europe*; and the only plank to be passed over in order to this, is the *United Provinces*, whom he looks upon from *Versailles* with a coveting eye; insomuch that one may advise the States and People of these Provinces to practise that which the Saviour of the World said heretofore to the *Jews*, *Watch, for ye know not what hour the Thief will come.* I say moreover, be ready to oppose him when he shall appear to break through the House, and to invade the Land of his Nighbour, and at last, that which God hath committed to the wise government of the States, and consider *France* now as an Enemy to Common-wealths, and as the scourge of all that will not submit to her Tyranny. It is true that she fears the States of the *United Provinces* more than she loves them, therefore it behoves them to put themselves into such a condition, as to be able to keep her in this fear, and to bring her back if she should go astray, and advance where she hath nothing to doe. They ought not to stop their proceeding upon any deceitfull Remonstrances that the Count *d'Avaux* can make, when they shall be in a posture fit to defend themselves; for if they were not conformable to his Master's designs, he would say nothing; of this they ought to be perswaded and assured.

The States have so much the more reason to stand on their guard, and to neglect nothing that may serve for their defence, in regard that they are at the point of seing themselves too near Nighbours to the Cardinal of *Furstemberg*, lately elected Coadjutour of *Colen*; this dangerous man is restless, possessed with the Devil of *France*, whom the King with the force of his Money hath raised to what he is, and uses his utmost endeavours to make him Master of the Territories that encompass the Provinces, to the end that he may be at all times the engine of *France*, to begin the quarrel at the first whistle that the King shall give; in every step that he makes, the Spirit of *France* is visible, and in all his overtures; so that to have the King, or him, for a Nighbour, is the same thing; he hath too great an obligation to his Master not to refuse to concur with his designs,

ſigns, but to help to advance him, if he can, to the Throne of the Monarchy of *Europe*, and to ſwallow up his Nighbours to attain to it, as we ſhall ſee in time, if he be not prevented.

The Policy of France, *and its Maxims with reſpect to the Northern Kings and Princes.*

AMongſt the Chief Princes of the North, I reckon the Kings of *Sweeden* and *Denmark*: they are two Sovereign Powers, and two Nations that have no manner of amity nor ſympathy between them; though they are Nighbours and Kindred, being linked together by divers Alliances: on the contrary they hate one another, and almoſt to the ſame degree as *France* and *Spain*; and although their Intereſt, their Commerce, and the little Revenue they have, ſhould oblige them to live at peace one with another, nevertheleſs there ceaſeth not to be an antipathy between theſe two People. It is neceſſary for *France* to make an Alliance with one of theſe Sovereigns, and to have him at her back to create employment for the other, in caſe he ſhould come to the aſſiſtence of the *Low Countries*, or the *United Provinces*, when ſhe hath a mind to attack them. *Sweeden*, as being the moſt powerfull, ſeemed proper for his purpoſe; therefore a League was ſoon made on that ſide, but the Penſion that was promiſed not being paid, and the perfidious indignities offer'd to the King of *Sweeden*, with reſpect to the Dutchy of *Deux-Ponts*, that belongeth to this King after the deceaſe of the Duke of that name, whom the King of *France* hath deprived before his death, are matters that have ſo diſguſted this Prince, that he will not in haſte be brought to forgive the King of *France*; and if he ſaith nothing at preſent, it is for want of a more favourable opportunity, that may happen hereafter. He would doe well to ſend him ſome *Louis-d'ors* in a barrel of Olives to *Pichionili*, as he formerly did to his Ambaſſadour who was at the Treaty of *Nimueguen*, to oblige him to incline to the concluſion of that Peace, as *France* hath ſince boaſted; but all this would not make up the buſineſs. *Sweeden* hath taſted the Spirit of *France*; it is a bitter Pill, only gilt over, which ſhe hath been forced to vomit.

vomit up again, and it is resolved never to have any thing to doe with it. Wherefore *France* hath applied herself to the King of *Denmark*, who hath been very glad in his turn, to see how the *Louis-d'ors* are made; and hath not refused to take her part: she hath moreover sent thither the Count *de Roié* in quality of Generalissimo, with abundance of *French* Officers. But the Spirit of *France* appeared at their arrrival, for Mr. the Count *de Roié* was no sooner come, but he demanded of the King of *Denmark*, in the Name of the King his Master, that part of the Subsidies that they received should be paid to him; persuading him that they were not well distributed. They made almost the same Compliment to his Highness the Electour of *Brandenburg*. Kings and Princes ought not only to study how to promote their present Glory, but also that of their Posterity, and of future Ages. What Figure will a Mercinary Prince, and one that is hired by *France*, make in History; who suffers himself to be led by the nose like a Bear, and by this means obscures the Lustre of all the renowned Actions he hath done during his Reign? It is not to be believed, that this baseness of Spirit will be buried with him: There are yet left some Champions for truth, all Pens are not as Mercenary as those of *Varillas* and *Pellisson*.

As soon as the King of *France* hath done what he pleaseth with *Denmark*, if he can find another Party that may be more usefull to him, he will cast her off as an Interessed Friend, and will seek for a *German* quarrel with her, or a *Turkish* Avenie, for not paying him his Subsidies, as he hath done to *Sweeden*: And if the House of *Lunenburg* would have swallow'd the Bait, *Denmark* would have been disgraced long since; and would not have partaked any more of the liberality of *France*.

Moreover, it ought to be considered how ignominious and mean a thing it is for a King, that hath dependence on none but God, who is the King of Kings, to make himself a Slave to his equal; *France* being able to say as the Centurion did in the Gospel. *I say to my Servant, doe this, and he doeth it, and to another go, and he goeth, and to another come, and he cometh.* Besides this baseness, there is a very ill sort of Politicks, (I know not whether the *Danes* are inclined to it,) *viz.* in consideration of a miserable summe of Money, that the extraordinary Troups that must be maintained will easily consume, to make themselves Enemies to all *Europe*, and the Nighbouring Potentates, without whom the Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway* can never subsist. I dare avouch, that the States of the *United Provinces* can doe more damage to these two Kingdoms in a year's time with

with one Plachart, than the *French* King can doe them good in ten years with his Subſidies and Penſions: I confeſs the King of *Denmark*, under the Wing of *France*, hath made himſelf Maſter of *Holſtein* without much difficulty; but doth he think in good earneſt to remain there? It is to be hoped that ſuch People will interpoſe, who will oblige him to depart thence, as faſt as his Maſter the King of *France* went out of the *United Provinces*. If a Peace be concluded between the two Emperours, the victorious Arms of the Chriſtians may ſerve perhaps to reduce the Uſurpers to reaſon, and to make them empty their Maw; oftentimes nothing is loſt by waiting: If he had not truſted to his Alliance, it is certain he would never have attempted the City of *Hamburg*, that hath ſerved for a Burying Place for the Stouteſt *Danes* and *French* that were in that Service: one poor Fort of the Star ſtopt his carier and killed him more than two thouſand Men, inſomuch that he was compelled at laſt to treat with ſhame, and to ſerve as a common tale and laughing-ſtock to all *Europe*.

The King of *Denmark*, as many others, doth not know his true Intereſt, and ſuffers himſelf to be dazled with this golden Sun, that the King of *France* preſents to the eyes of thoſe whom he would corrupt. He hath more of thoſe Olives that he gave at *Nimueguen*; of which he often makes a preſent to his Allies, when he ſtands in need of them. It were to be wiſhed that His Majeſty of *Denmark* would open his eyes, as well as *Sweeden*, and that having thrown off this Subjection, wherein he is at preſent involved, he would unite and join himſelf wholly to his other Allies, who would cauſe the Commerce of his States to flouriſh, and his Revenues to encreaſe, without being obliged to keep on Foot a great number of Soldiers to no purpoſe, as he now doth. But it is abſolutely neceſſary for *France*, to have one of the Northern Kings at her Devotion, leſt they ſhould unite by a ſtreight Alliance, and ſhould enter into League with her Enemies, in caſe of a Rupture; this Alliance that ſhe makes, is the Apple of diſcord; and ſince ſhe could not obtain ſo much as one Allie in the North, if the King of *Denmark* had thought fit, ſhe would have bought his friendſhip at double the rate that ſhe gives him at preſent.

As for the Princes of the Houſe of *Lunenburg*; they are obſerved and ſurrounded with the Emiſſaries of *France*, who continually repreſent to them the advantages that they may reap, in taking a Penſion of the King, or rather, in making themſelves Slaves to *Lewis* the Great, after the example of ſome of their Nighbours. The Miniſter, of theſe Princes do often dirty the ends of their fingers. *Bois-David*, and his Kinſman St. *Pouange*,

are able to give more certain intelligence, and to produce good Memorials relating to the affairs of that Court. If *Boir-David* had not been usefull to the King, he never would have presumed to return into *France*, as he hath done, being criminal by reason of a Duel that he fought with *d'Aubijon*; but there is no Crime so heinous but the King can pardon it, if the Delinquent be judged a necessary Agent for his Interest and Ambition. We all know that the King hath offer'd considerable Summs, to divert the Princes of the House of *Lunenburg* from their true Interests, and put them under the *French* Yoke. But let them be disabused, it redounds very little to the honour of Free and Sovereign Princes to render themselves mercenary to *France*; and it is certain that all these offers are only to separate them from their good and true Allies, *Sweden*, the Electour of *Brandenburg*, and the States of the *United Provinces*, with whom the Interest of these Princes obliges them to remain united and associated, as well by the Nighbourhood of their States, as by the Commerce and good Correspondence that hath always passed between them, so that it may be said that they are serviceable one to another in a mutual preservation.

But *France* hath an aim in the being desirous to oblige the Princes of *Lunenburg*, to enter into her Interests; if the King of *England*, or of *Spain*, should happen to die suddenly, there would be occasion for these Princes to cut out work for one or other of those three Powers above-mentioned, and to oppose them with *French* Troups joined to theirs, in case any should stir.

It is evident that *Lewis* XIV. hath reason to labour as he doth, to strengthen himself with Alliances on the same foot as that of *Denmark*, to assist him either to hinder the passage of the Prince of *Orange* into *England*, or to attack the *Low Countries* in good earnest. These two affairs stick close to him; to which you may add the great conquests of the Emperour, who having made a Peace with the *Turk*, may gall him with his Victorious Army, and perhaps, may make him lose his longing desire to execute some of his Grand designs, for which he now sweats and takes so much pains, to the end that he may order Matters so as to find no obstacle, at least that he may employ those another way that would oppose him.

I may affirm, without deceiving my self, that the Prince of *Orange* is the only Person, whom the King of *France* fears; and that the thought of the Succession of the Royal Princess to the Crown of *England* gives him mortal apprehensions that often purge him without a Pill, being very sen-

sible

ſible that this Prince, who is as great a Politician as a Captain, and hath never been corrupted, underſtandeth perfectly well the intereſt of *Europe*, will ſay, as Queen *Elizabeth* did, that no body hath Right to pretend to the *Low Countries*; and will never ſuffer His Moſt Chriſtan Majeſty, nor any others, to make themſelves Maſters thereof, which will be very eaſie for him to doe, when he ſhall be arrived to this Dignity. Therefore the Spirit of *Lewis* the Great runs to and fro through the earth, and would enter into Leagues with as many Princes as poſſibly it can, to get a ſhelter from the approaching Storm and Tempeſt, and from the Thunder that is ready to break over his Head.

Poland is far diſtant from *France*, and cannot hurt her directly neither by Sea nor Land, but is capable of doing her ſervice indirectly, either to obſtruct the deſigns of the Emperour, or to attack *Sweeden*, when the King ſhall think it convenient, eſpecially the latter; for a pretence is never wanting when a Prince hath a mind to Invade. *Caſimir*, the Son of *Sigiſmund*, had a lawfull one, for this *Sigiſmund*, King of *Sweeden*, was elected King of *Poland*, nevertheleſs he kept his firſt Kingdom, till ſuch time as Prince *Charles*, his Uncle, was declared King in the abſenſe of his Nephew, King *Sigiſmund*, who ſent a Council, or Senate, compoſed of forty Jeſuites, to reſide at *Stockholm*, choſen ſovereignly to determine all affairs of State, and empower'd by a Patent that gave them Royal Authority. But as ſoon as the Senate was arrived in the Ports of *Stockholm*, Prince *Charles*, and all the Nobility, went before with 25 or 30 Veſſels to pay Hommage to this new Senate; this Squadron having encompaſſed the Ship wherein thoſe venerable Senatours were, they gave them a Broad-ſide inſtead of a Salute; ſo that their Ship being ſhot through and through, took water on all ſides: and the Jeſuites went to hold their firſt Aſſembly in Quality of Senatours at the bottom of the Sea, for they would not ſo much as let one of them eſcape. Finally Prince *Charles* was elected King, and the Arch-Biſhop diſcharged the Subjects from the Oath of Allegiance that they had taken to *Sigiſmund*, and his Uncle was Proclaimed King.

The King of *France* hath an intereſt at the Election of the King of *Poland*, he ſends thither ordinarily an Ambaſſadour with *Louis-d'ors*, to endeavour to cauſe the Election to be carried in favour of ſome Prince of his faction, and eſpecially that he be not addicted to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. King *John* at preſent reigning, his Wife being a *French* Woman, had a fair proſpect that the Biſhop of *Beauvais*, Ambaſſadour of *France*, would ſollicite in his behalf, becauſe the Moſt Chriſtian King hath always thought, that by means of the Queen he might engage the King to enter into his

Intereſts, and he hath not altogether deceived himſelf. It is true that the denial that the King of *France* had given to beſtow the Quality of Duke and Peer on the Marqueſs *d' Arquier*, the Queens Father, and that of acknowledging her and rendering to her the Honours due to a Queen, if ſhe ſhould have a mind to go into *France*, had cauſed ſome coldneſs; but when it only coſts a little Parchment to content a Prince, they are very liberal at the Court of *France*, and eſpecially when they ſtand in need of him. And by way of acknowledment you ſee that the King of *Poland* doth all that his Benefactour would have him, and that of St. *Lewis*, hath a great deal of power in that Kingdom. Nevertheleſs it is not the true Intereſt of His Majeſty of *Poland* to ſtop in ſo fair a way, after the deliverance of *Vienna*, the following theſe great exploits would not only have eterniz'd his memory, by the means of a Peace that he might have given to the Grand *Seignior*, very advantageous to *Poland*, but above all, he would have fixed the Crown on his Son's head; for certainly they could not in juſtice have refuſed it by way of retribution for all his victories. I know very well that the Spirit of *France*, prodigal in promiſes, and pregnant in ſubtilty, aſſures the King and Queen, that the Crown ſhall not fail to fall to the Prince their Son, and that his *Louis d'ors* will work miracles. But who hath promiſed *Lewis* XIV. that he ſhall live to ſee that time? I confeſs that he hath cauſed it to be engraven under his Statue *Viro immortali*, but I ſhall make bold to add, *cum fiſtula in ano*. Thus he may die before the King of *Poland*, and if he dies, it may happen that his Succeſſour will have ſo much buſineſs at home, that he will not care to ſeek for any elſewhere. But *France* offers to the Young Prince Royal of *Poland*, as a pledge of her kindneſs and amity, Madam the Princeſs *de Conti la Valliere*, whom they had alſo formerly offer'd to the Duke of *Bavaria*, as if there were never a Legitimate Princeſs to be found in *Europe*: I am perſuaded, that the King of *France* thinks that he conferrs a great deal of honour on the *Polanders* in preſenting them with one of his Baſtards for their Queen; this would be to make work for ſuch Rogues as *Paſquin* and *Marforio*. It is certain that if the King of *Poland* ſhould conſent to this ſiniſter Alliance, that it would be plainly to declare, that he pretends not any longer to the Crown of *Poland* for his Son, and that this Marriage would be an act of renunciation: Rather let him follow the example of the King of *Portugal*, who hath been ſo wiſe as to get rid of the importunities of *France*, and to ſtrengthen himſelf in an Alliance with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Emperour, by his Marriage with the Princeſs *Palatine* of *Newburg*. He hath prudently foreſeen,

that

hat if ever *Lewis* XIV. ſhould ſet foot into *Spain*, his Kingdom would be of his dependence. The two Teeth with which this ſame *Lewis* was born, are called, one the Uſurping, and the other the Cruel; from the firſt proceeds Dependence and Juriſdiction, and from the latter breach of Faith and Perſecution. It is not to be doubted, but that the King of *France*, if he ſhould become Maſter of *Spain*, would be firſt inveſted with *Portugall*; for the *Spaniards* have enjoyed this Kingdom from *Philip* II. to *Philip* IV. and it was about the year 1640. when the *Portugueſes* ſhook off the Yoke of *Spain*. Sixty years of Poſſeſſion are more than ſufficient to found a right of dependence; there needs but thirty to a private Perſon, beſides that of Juriſdiction, for *Portugal* is joined with the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, *Aragon*, and *Grenado*. He had not ſo great a pretence to the Kingdom of *Auſtraſia*, and yet he hath depoſed the Princes that poſſeſſed a part of the Territories of that Kingdom for more than ſix hundred years. Fear guards the Vineyard, and Diſtruſt is often the Mother of Safety.

If I were to ſpeak to Savages, or the Kings of *Siam* and *China*, ſince they are ignorant of what happens in our part of the World, it would be neceſſary to give them an Hiſtorical Account of all the Tricks that *France* hath played in this Age, and of all the Frauds, Illuſions, Uſurpations, Injuſtice, and Cruelty, that the King now reigning there hath made uſe of, to make himſelf Maſter of the Goods and Lands of his Nighbours. But I ſpeak to *Europeans*, to Chriſtians, who have ſeen with their Eyes and heard with their Ears, and have continually before them Princes robbed of their Dominions, ſo many People ruined, ſo many Cities and Towns taken, and ſo many Houſes that are no more than the Monuments of thouſands of Chriſtians reduced to Beggery, and the Bloud of his own Subjects, that yet blows like a ſtrong Stream on all ſides; theſe are I ſay ſpeaking Books, wherein you may read throughout in great Characters, *LEWIS THE GREAT, SACRIFICETH ALL THINGS TO HIS AMBITION AND INTEREST.* And although all the World knows it, and there is not a Prince that hath not been deceived by him; nevertheleſs he is ſo well skill'd in ſtupifying them, with a ſweet Showre of Gold, that many cry out, *Lord, what wouldſt thou have us to doe*, and run inſenſibly with delight to their own Deſtruction, and to the ruine of their Poſterity.

Europe hath need of a good Operatour to cauſe the Scales to fall from the Eyes of many Princes, and at length to open them, to the end that every one clearly ſeeing his own Intereſt, may forſake that of *France*, and that they may endeavour to find him a Competitour, that may be able to counterpoiſe

poiſe him, to keep him within bounds, and to put him out of a capacity of troubling the Earth with his Ambition. There needs but one ſtroke for this, which nevertheleſs I ſhall not mention, for all *Europe* ſeeth it, and it may happen whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe the Divine Wiſedom of the true Univerſal Monarch, and King of Kings, to order it. We may wiſh *Lewis* XIV. a long life, to the end that he may be a witneſs of theſe things, and that he may ſee another *Joſhua* ready to ſtop the courſe of his Sun, after whom the Nations of the Earth do groan and make fervent Prayers.

The Policy and Maxims of France, *with reſpect to its Allies, the* Cantons *of* Switzerland, *and* Savoy.

THE *Cantons* of *Switzerland*, being Free and Sovereign States, are governed by themſelves, and depend only on God and their own valour. They are in part Reformed, and in part *Roman*-Catholicks; and it is this diverſity of Religion that often cauſeth a diſpute amongſt them, and gives great advantages to the King of *France*, who makes uſe of the eaſineſs of the latter, to fling the apple of diſcord in the middle of them. Heretofore, by good fortune to the *Cantons*, no part of them was in the confines of *France*, but ſince the Peace of *Henry* IV. with the Duke of *Savoy*, the Countrey of *Gex* was granted to that King. Afterwards *France*, that always advanceth, hath uſurped in *Alſatia*, the *Franche Comté*, and *Bourgogne*, and is now become a Nighbour to the *Switzers* on three or four ſides; but *Lewis* XIV. hot being content with this, hath had a mind to approach nearer than his Fore-fathers, by the Fortreſs of *Huninghen*, that is, as we all know, within a Cannon-ſhot of *Baſil*, the Governour having not long ſince made tryall thereof. *Switzerland* hath committed an errour in this poinnt, *viz.* in making herſelf a little too familiar with the Kings of *France*, who have thereby diſcover'd their ſtrength and their weakneſs, and after what manner they manage their affairs, inſomuch that whenſoever

ſoever they ſhall have any conteſt with this Prince, it will always happen as is ſaid in the Fable of the Iron Pot and the Earthen Pot. Secondly, In ſending ſo great a quantity of Soldiers into the *French* ſervice; theſe are ſo many men loſt as to the *Cantons*, and who knows but one day they may, like Vipours, eat through the Bowels of their own native Countrey, and common Mother? There are few *Switzers*, Officers in *France*, that do not ſuffer themſelves to be corrupted by Marriages, and to be blinded with Preferments, and *Louy-d'ors*, and ſeveral of them abjure their Religion and their Countrey both together, and would ſacrifice, as Lieutenant-General *Stoupa* did, thirteen Cantons twice to the Intereſt of *France*; he is not the only perſon of the Caball left, he hath by miſhap many Diſciples. There are few that will imitate the Sr. *Daffelouer* of *Bern*, formerly a Captain in the King's Service, who choſe rather to break his Pike, and to quit his employment, than to break the Treaty that his Sovereigns had made, by paſſing over the *Rhine* againſt the *Hollanders*. They have failed alſo another way, and that is, in tying their Arms ſo as not to be able to give the ſame number of Troups to *Spain* as they do to *France*; this reſtriction maketh more for the *French* than they are aware of. They cannot diſagree in the leaſt, without ſuffering themſelves to be bridled by the Fort of *Hüningben*, that ſufficiently diſcovers the King's deſign, all the Clefts whereof are ſo many Mouths that cry to them, *Awake, ye drowſie People, and look towards me, that am as it were the Emblem of the Uſurper, and a Pyramide adorned in token of your Liberty.*

But if this be not ſufficient for the *Cantons* to make a ſerious reflexion on the proceedings of *Lewis* XIV. with reſpect to them, at leaſt the Cannon-ſhot that the Governour of *Hüningben* diſcharged againſt the City of *Baſil* ought to open their eyes; for the Uſurper advanceth very faſt, and it is to be no longer doubted, but this Prince, when he ſhall ſee a fair opportunity, will raiſe a *Germane* quarrel with them; pretences are never wanting to Princes, and he will begin to order in good earneſt, that the Biſhop of *Baſil*, and others, be reſtored, and that their arrearages be paid them, from the time that they were compelled to leave the City; but if he were obliged to come by force, and he ſhould gain the leaſt advantage, ſince the People of the *Cantons* are lovers of Peace, to obtain it he would demand every year a Medal, for a mark of Tribute, as he did to the *Hollanders*, and a certain number of Soldiers that the *Switzers* ſhould be obliged to furniſh him with, on the firſt Summons, and he would place Biſhops as ſo many Emiſſaries in all the beſt Cities.

I ſay,

I say, that the King of *France* makes use of the diversity of the Religion of the *Cantons*, to foment a disunion between them, as we have seen of late in the affair of *Glarus*; wherein, if the Pope's *Nuncio* had not been Mediatour, he had kindled the first Sparks of a great Fire and Division among them; and this is that which *Lewis* XIV. aims at, the better to promote his affairs, and his pretended Reign over *Europe*. The Roman Catholicks of this Nation are for the most part ignorant in their Religion, and stupid, cleaving to the Shell thereof, without penetrating any farther; the very Name of a Catholick transports them, and sets them in motion, without enquiring to what end; but let them dis-abuse themselves once for all, and let them not suffer themselves to be deceived under the name of Catholick; 'tis a false Mask that this Prince puts on the better to delude, and bring them to the lure, to the end that he may divide them; and when he hath set them together by the ears, to fall upon *Basil*, or *Geneva*, or it may be, on both together; these are limits that ought to be in a manner sacred, which all the *Cantons* ought never to let him touch, but to defend them stoutly with their Arms in their hands, to the last drop of their Bloud; for when once this passage is open, and the Fire of Discord lighted amongst them, they are utterly lost, without remedy, and of Free *Switzers* they will become *French* Slaves. But if the *Switzers* in general take care to preserve a good union among themselves, and do but shew their Teeth to the Usurper, testifying that they are resolved to maintain and defend that which belongs to them, they may be assured, that the King of *France* will doe nothing but bark at them at a distance. On the contrary, if they do not shew more heat, and are not more solicitous for these two Cities than they were for the *Franche Comté*, it is certain, that making no more resistence, they run apace to their Destruction and total Ruine. I know very well, that *France* will not absolutely subdue them, but will make them Tributaries. They are at present Free and Sovereign, but let them take heed, that the yoke be not put over their Neck, and let them remember their ancient courage, and that their Countrey hath often served as a burying place for the *French*, whom they have put to a shamefull flight. The City of *Geneva* is a morsel that *France* hath longed for a great while agoe, ever since she hath appropriated to herself the Countrey of *Gex*; it seems that Republick belongs to that Jurisdiction. They have long since mutter'd in the Court of *France*, that they would re-establish the Bishop who is a *Savoyard*, whom the Duke of *Savoy* should name, and should cause him to reside at his Court, there

to

to claim his right. If it were as eaſie for the Moſt Chriſtian King to re-eſtabliſh the Biſhop in *Geneva*, as it hath been to ſettle a Reſident there, it would have been done long before this time. Since this Reſident is fallen in our way, it may not be amiſs to ſpeak a word or two concerning his Reſidence: You muſt know that he is as neceſſary as a fifth Wheel in a Chariot, ſince his Office is there only to receive the Packets of Letters from *Switzerland* for the Court, that was formerly done by a Merchant; ſo that the Wages and Employment of ſuch a Miniſter would be very uſeleſs if there were not other regards: I believe alſo, that he could afford himſelf but a very ſpare diet, if he had no other income but that which *France* allows him; and if he were not in fee with the better part of the Clergy. I remember, that one named *Chavigni*, the firſt that filled this honourable Place, was a miſerable wretch, whom Mr. *de Pompone*, had often taken out of *Fort l'Eveque*, where he was a Priſoner for Debt, and ſent him thither to diſengage himſelf, where he made a Trade of the Catholick Religion; every Sunday, or Feſtival, was to him a day of receit; for every *Savoyard* that came to hear Maſs, came alſo to the Offering, and gave four or five Sous under pretence of maintenance for the Church, and the Prieſt, or rather, for Mr. the Reſident, who beſides ſet up a ſort of an Inn, to entertain them at Dinner; the poor Fellow was forced to make a Fire with any ſort of Fuel, for he had lived on charity at *Paris*, being formerly compelled to leave *Provence*, by reaſon of certain falſe five-penny Pieces that he had expoſed, where he hath been reduced to the laſt extremity; and all this noiſe that he made at *Geneva*, was only to oblige the Magiſtrate to greaſe him in the fiſt, and privately to make him ſome preſent. But ſince his Secretary had changed Religion, and he gave his Almoner a Box on the ear for ſpeaking in favour of the Proteſtants, after a Sermon that they were come from hearing; ſince that time, I ſay, his folly hath been made apparent, and he was countermanded, and another, more rational and wiſe, took his place. On account of the deſign that the King hath on this City, it is neceſſary for him, at preſent, to keep a Reſident there, to be informed of what happens, and of their ſtrength and weakneſs, and to corrupt ſome Magiſtrate, if he can, as at *Straſbourg*. The Attempt heretofore of the Duke of *Savoy* ought to be continually before their eyes; for it is certain that the King of *France*, howſoever he may amuſe them, waits but for a time convenient to ſpring his Mine, and to play ſuch another prank as he did at *Straſbourg*. Therefore the People of *Geneva* ought to be always on their guard, and to diſpoſe their Allies to

end them auxiliary Forces, as soon as the grand Usurper shall advance, for at present he delays the blow; and he hath ordered the matter so well, that the Duke of *Savoy* is become his Lacquey, and durst not so much as blow on the side of *France*. Heretofore the Dukes, his Ancestours, defended the City of *Geneva* against *France*, as much as the Inhabitants themselves, they had greater reasons than *France* hath at this day, by the pretensions they had, and the rights that the Counts of *Geneva*, have demised to the Duke of *Savoy*. The Emperour *Charles* IV. proclaimed this Duke Prince of *Geneva*, and of all the adjacent Countrey, and they have enjoyed it till the year 1532. But the Duke at present reigning, being very far from opposing *France*, is rather willing to yield up his Rights and Pretensions, and suffers himself to be allured by the pretence of re-establishing the Bishop. And when this Prelate shall be there, and *France* shall be Mistress of the Place, what will the Duke of *Savoy* doe, if the King will not restore him? will he make use of Threatnings or Reprizals? If he should doe it, the King of *France* would whip him as a little Child, and would make him kiss the Rod. Therefore let not the City of *Geneva* flatter herself with the deceitfull Promises of the King of *France*, nor with the Assistence that Policy or good reason may oblige the Duke of *Savoy* to afford her; but let her trust on her Allies, the *Cantons* of *Switzerland*, on her own Forces though few, and on so many *French* Officers that have took sanctuary there, who will not fail speedily to go to her relief, or they must have lost all sense of honour and acknowledgement. And if the Emperour makes a Peace with the *Turks*, they may cause the Duke of *Lorrain* to come to their Succour, who is a great Captain, and laden with Lawrels, whose very name alone will make *France* tremble; and this may serve him for a Door to enter into his own Dutchy of *Lorrain*, where his Subjects, wearied with the tyrannical slavery of *France*, do attend him as their *Moses* and deliverer.

The King is a Fox cloathed in a Lyon's skin; he is not so terrible as he he is thought to be, he aims at nothing so much as to make himself feared, and by his threatnings he obtains whatsoever he pleaseth. But lay aside this panick fear, look on *France* near, and with a sedate mind, consider the continual flight of her Inhabitants, the Miseries and Imprisonments of another party; it is so much Bloud that runs out of her Veins, and hath weakened her by little and little. Join to this the just discontents of Catholicks, and the diminution of her Revenues, and what is most deplorable for her, the death and departure of her greatest Generals,

rals, within these few years, and very soon one after another: doth it not seem, to see this scene, that Heaven designs to humble her? for she is lower than can be imagined, and I dare say that this *France* so proud, is as sick as her King, and that they are both smitten, even to the very root.

The first Enemy that shall attack her will not be long alone, but will be quickly seconded; and it is much the same case, as in the Fable of the Council of the Rats, who deliberated how to tie a little Bell about the Neck of the Cat, their sworn Enemy, but none of them would venture to go first. Who would ever have thought that the Pope should have contributed to the union of the *Swisses?* nevertheless this is very true, as appears by the affair of *Glaris*, that I have already related, and his Nuncio doth at this time labour to open the eyes of the Catholick Cantons; for these good People, provided the King do but talk a little about settling the Bishop, without any more to doe, are ready to get into the Net, but they do not perceive what is behind the Mountain, and that under the Bishop's Mitre the Usurper lies hid.

I have but one word more to add by way of advice to the worshipfull *Cantons* of *Switzerland*, and that is, that the King hath no esteem nor good will towards them, but that he looks upon them as Asses to make use of when he hath occasion, and when that is over, he scorns them as the very refuse of Mankind. I need no other proof of what I say, than that which hath very lately happened to the Ambassadours that the *Cantons* sent to the King of *France*, who, after they had been trifled with, and not admitted to audience, under pretence that their Commission was not general, and this difficulty being removed by a second Commission that was sent them, were nevertheless obliged to return, without being able so much as to see the King, or to obtain one single Audience. This is the greatest Scorn, and the most sensible Affront that ever a Sovereign could receive, and if the *Cantons* let this pass, without testifying their Resentment, they will be despised by all the Princes of *Europe*, and this will not be the the last abuse that will be put upon them in the like nature. But for the better certification of the truth of what I now relate, I have annexed the Speech or Compliment, word for word, that these Gentlemen left at their parting with *Colbert Croissi*, Minister of foreign affairs.

Sir,

Our Lords and Superiours have sent us hither to use all means, and to make

all instances to endeavour to gain the good will of the King, to the end that he may be induced to maintain their Allies, the City of Geneva, in the possession of what they have enjoyed for above an hundred and eighty years, founded on good Treaties.

But his Majesty being resolved to refer to his Parliament of Dijon, an affair that is clearly owned as a matter of State, depending on Treaties of Peace and Alliances, which Parliament our Lords will never acknowledge as just, nor will advise their Allies, the City of Geneva, to submit their Cause to it, which is also their own; and besides, His Majesty having given us to understand by Your Excellency, that He would not have You any longer enter into Conference with us on this affair; we fear lest our stay here may be as displeasing to Him as our coming, and we cannot make a better choice, than to return, to give a faithfull account to our Lords and Superiours of what hath passed.

We are come hither to take leave of your Excellency, to thank you for the patience you have had in several Conferences, and to tell you according to the reiterated Orders wherewith we are charged on the part of our Lords and Superiours, though most sensibly touched with the ill success of this Embassy, since the sollicitation of twenty five Cantons is more regarded, than the fidelity of many thousands of better and more sure Allies of this Crown, who have spilt their blood, and sacrificed so many brave People, for the service, grandeur, and defence of this State; that nevertheless they will continue in their Treaty of Peace, and in their Alliance, in the hopes that they have always had, and yet have; that his Majesty, to whom, with all the Royal Family, they wish an entire prosperity, will answer it on his side. As to us (Sir) in particular, though we have not had the happiness to see his Majesty, we cannot but wish him a continuation of Health to his Person, and assure your Excellency of the esteem and respect that we have, and always shall have, for his merits, and excellent vertue, protesting that we are in particular his most humble Servants.

After so sensible an affront ought these Ambassadours to be mocked? and durst they be so bold as to offer them in the Persons of their Sovereigns a Present of a Chain of Gold of 500 Crowns? this were to believe them interessed and covetous of Presents: If after such an abuse an Ambassadour had accepted it, he would have deserved to be hanged with this golden Halter. By this denial of Audience the Cantons may see the Temper and design of France; who hath ever heard of or seen the like, that they should send a free and Sovereign Republick to a Parliament, depending on their own Party, as the King sends Geneva to the Parliament of Dijon? they might

might with more reason and justice be referred to the Parliament of *Turin*.

Behold the equity of this great King of *France*, that would be a Judge and a Party every where, and would have all *Europe* depend on his Judges, some at *Metz*, and others at *Dijon*, and *Aix* in *Provence*, as he at present hath obliged the People of *Orange*! But it is to be hoped that the Gentlemen of *Geneva* will not submit themselves to these unjust Judges; for if they doe, they will not fail to lose their cause, and after that, they will make a new pretension, till they have put the Chain on their Feet; and thus losing their Liberty and their City, they will become the Slaves of *France*, a Victim Sacrificed to the Jesuites, and the conquest of *Lewis* the Great. They will certainly fall into this condition, if they do not fortifie themselves in time, and prepare for his coming, for he will come and visit them, as he did *Genoa*: They ought not to flatter themselves with the contrary, but when he approacheth, to resolve to sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes to their Liberty, rather than to the Ambition of a Prince that would be their *Antiochus* and bloudy Master, that would snatch their Children out of their Armes, to put them into the hands of Jesuites, to cause them to abandon their Parents Religion, and all the Duties of Christians; if they will not obey, he will dragg them to the Scaffold, and fling their Carcasses to the Dogs; but if he should, out of a particular favour, treat them more mildly, he would send them to be companions with his own Subjects in the Prisons, and Galleys, in *America*. This is the cruel and violent Spirit of *France*, and take heed thereof.

That Lewis XIV. *King of* France, *is nothing less than a Catholick.*

I Shall finish this little Treatise with this Chapter, wherein I design to shew that the King of *France* is not in the least a Catholick, and that it is only a Cloak, with which he covers himself, to play his game the better, and to obtain his ambitious designs. And although he makes a great noise with that.

that Name at *Rome*, and every where among Princes of that Profession, yet I find that he is far from it, and I shall alledge nothing here, for the proof thereof but truths that are known to all the World.

All those that call themselves Catholicks, and go to Mass, are no more to be accounted so for that, than all those that are Baptized are true Christians, otherwise it would follow that *Julian* the Apostate, *Arius*, and many others were so, notwithstanding they are reckoned among the Impostors and Antichrists. He is a Catholick that doth the Works, and and leads the Life of a Catholick. Take off the Mask of Hypocrisie, and you shall find nothing but Antichristianisme, and if you make a strict enquiry, you will not see the least trace that is Catholick. I am perswaded that the Marquess *de Montespan* will be a Witness of what I say: You must not look for him in *Italy*, but at *Versailles*. The Catholick Church doth not permit Perjury, nor the breaking of the most Solemn Oaths, made at the foot of the Altar at a Communion, as was that which the King made at the *Pyranean* Peace, and at his Marriage with the *Infanta* of *Spain*, since that time Queen of *France*. The Sacred Oath that this Prince took, for the observation of the Edicts of Pacification, in favour of a part of his People, are they not violated every day, and absolutely retracted under frivolous pretences, quite contrary to what he had sworn and promised so solemnly? Pope *Gregory* spake very much like a Christian when he maintained, *that we are truly Catholicks, and faithfull when we fulfill that by our actions which we have promised by our own words*, and *St.* Jerome; *that we ought to keep faith, even with an Enemy*. That we ought not to regard to whom, but by whom we swear. Thus you see the duty of a Catholick; but I would know if *Lewis* XIV. doth practise it, and if he do not, according to the Opinion of this very Pope, he is not a Catholick.

But can this Prince be called a Catholick, after that which he hath commanded to be done by his Troups in the last Troubles of *Flanders*, where in a full Peace he burnt and pillaged the poor People, not so much as sparing the most sacred places, ravishing the Virgins dedicated to the Service of God, and carrying away the very Ornaments of the Altar.

The Catholick Church doth not acknowledge as a Member a Prince that persecuteth his own People, that would be to dishonour her, for the true Church may be persecuted, but she never persecuteth; she prays for those that are separated from her, and would not that the Fire of Heaven should fall upon them. The present Pope writing to the King of *France*, on occasion of his Conversions, being far from congratulating him, and

rejoycing

rejoycing thereat, disapproves them, shewing him that they ought to be carried on with solid reasons and good example, and not with violence and oppression.

The Roman Catholick Church doth not acknowledge any for her Members, but those that submit to her, and her Head as the infallible Vicar of *Jesus Christ*. *Lewis* XIV. being far from this, hath snatcht out of his hands the Patrimony of the Church, the *Regalia* in *France* and part of his Authority, in the Assembly of the Clergy of his Kingdom held at *Paris* in the year 1682. doth not he still usurp his right every day, and promote a Schism in his Kingdom, and if the Pope testifies the least resentment, they will talk of a Patriarch, and they will seize on *Avignon*? what a noise hath the King made, and still makes, concerning the Franchise of his Ambassadour's Quarters in *Rome*, which, to say the truth, hath served only for a retreat and place of refuge for Bankrupts, Robbers, and Murtherers.

The Marquis *de Lavardin*, in making his Entry into *Rome*, has chose rather to Act the Fox than the Lyon, as hath appeared since, having determined nothing positively when he was asked the meaning of his Entry; so that being engaged in nothing on the one side nor other, it will be always reasonable hereafter to set up his Master's will, as we shall see in time, when the Fleet of *Provence* shall be before *Civita Vecchia*, and the other part of the Pope's Dominions; besides it is convenient to spin a fine Thread in the beginning, to endeavour to obtain the Bull for the Cardinal of *Furstemburg*, for *France* was assured of his nomination to the Co-adjutorship of *Colen*; the Chapter, as 'tis said, had finger'd the King's Money, and were enrolled and their Votes sold, there was no way for them to go back. Insomuch that when the Marquess *de Lavardin* entred into *Rome*, the Affair was as good as done, and the King lookt upon it as certain; but he was deceived as to the Bull, for he thought that the Pope, who is wise, naturally mild, and that loveth not a noise, would have yielded at the Arrival of his Ambassadour, and that the spiritual would have complyed with the temporal; but he was mistaken in his reckoning, and he hath found the firmness of resolution and vigour in an old man, that he could not have expected in a young; for if the Pope should submit, it would give an advantage to the *Gallican* Church, or her Clergy, and would confirm their Decree in 1682. *That the Pope is not infallible*. In the mean time behold the Marquess *de Lavardin* in *Rome*, keeping guard day and night, and surrounding the *Farnetian* Palace, as if it were a Fort environed with Enemies, in sight of the Pope and the whole Conclave. After all these outrageous Insolencies

offered

offered to the most eminent Person in the Church, the reputed Vicar of *Jesus Christ*, and Successour of St. *Peter*, what can be more? what reproaches are these that *Talon* the King's Advocate, hath not belched out against his Holiness, and the Cardinals his Counsellors, accusing the former of being a favourer of Heresie, Jansenism and Quietism, and a thousand other impertinences, as may be seen more at large, in the demand of the said Sir *Talon*, in the Parliament of *Paris*, and by the Protestation of the Ambassadour, that he hath posted up at *Rome*, the expressions whereof are so opprobrious, that they deserve to be burnt, though they were reflexions only on a private Person: But when they have power in their hand, they think they have a right to doe and to say what they please: But the Holy Father who is wise and sagacious will let him alone to act, and it may be, his great Modesty and prudent Conduct may oblige the King to come to himself, and to acknowledge the injury he hath done, and that the Pope is Master at home, and can abolish and take away the Franchise of the Quarters, when he shall judge it expedient for the quiet of his City, his People, and his own Conscience.

After all that I have now related concerning *Lewis* XIV. surely there are none, no not a Jesuite himself, that durst affirm that he is a good Catholick, for going to Mass, is not a certain Mark; the new Converts of *France* go thither, and nevertheless are very bad Catholicks. I have seen *Turks* there, and on the Festival of St. *Eloi*, abundance of Cattel that they blessed on that day.

Neither is the being a good friend of the Jesuites an infallible mark; the King of *Siam*, as great an Idolater as he is, is so, according to the report of the Jesuites that come from thence. There are perhaps particular reasons for this, and fear causeth the King to manage them, for he knows very well that they are *Spaniards* by inclination, as their General is by birth, and that Father *Cotton* wrote in *Spain* all the Confessions of *Henry* IV. and that after the death of that King, the same Father presenting himself to *Lewis* XIII. his Son, to be his Confessour, this Prince, as young as he was, had the wit to answer, either of himself or by Instigation, *No, for he will write in* Spain, *as he hath done concerning my Father.*

I have said that fear often createth circumspection; *Henry* the IV. was not free, when he had a mind to recall them into *France*, for when the Duke *de Sully* dissuaded him from it, he told him in a heat, *Assure me then of my Life*: this was a sign that they had possessed him with fear, and that those that solicited for their favour and return, had assured the King, that if he did

not

not doe it, he would run the risque of being assassinated by these [illegible] Fathers, or their Scholars. The King also knoweth, that now [illegible] their being called back, it hath cost this good Prince his Grand-[illegible] his life, and that *John Chastel*, and *Francis Ravaillac*, had been two of these Scholars, whom they had stirred up to doe this, *ad majorem Dei Gloriam*. It is not to be doubted, but that the King is not ignorant, that among the Records of the Parliament of *Paris*, there is a Book wrote with their Father *Saignard*'s own hand, where these Clauses are inserted, in speaking of *Henry* III. "That the cruell *Nero* hath been killed by a *Clement*, and the "counterfeit Monk by a true Monk; that the Heroicall Act done by "*James Clement*, as a Gift of the Holy Ghost, called by this name by our "Divines, hath been justly praised by the late Prior of the *Jacobin's* Confes-"sour and Martyr, for severall reasons.

"The man of *Bearn*, at present converted to the Catholick Faith, "would be treated more favourably than he deserved, if they should give "him the Monarchall Crown; that if they could not depose him without "War, they should wage War; and if they could not make a War, they "should kill him.

Thus, when life lies at stake, every thing lies at stake, and men will doe much for their own preservation; who knows but these good Fathers have told the King now reigning, that if he doe not extirpate the *Huguenots* out of his Kingdom, always *ad majorem Dei Gloriam*, he is in jeopardy of his life. But besides fear, there are other probable reasons that oblige him to entertain and make use of them; one is that they are very indulgent at Confession, and great Crimes before them, are no more than peccadilloes; this is that which cannot be hoped for from an humble *Capuchin*, who would be often scandalized at the very hearing of them named.

Another reason is, that I find a great Sympathy between the disposition and temper of the King and that of the Jesuites, a true parallel might be drawn thereof, these all being bloud-thirsty, crafty, intriguing, spying into all Courts, and proud, sacrificing all to their own interests. Moreover, the Jesuits have some credit at *Rome*, where the King must necessarily keep Emissaries. Thus on all these considerations, it is not to be wondered at, that the most Christian King is a Friend of the Society, since he makes use of them as occasion serves, having found them also perfect disposed to stick to the strongest side, as agreeing best with their Policy, as well as that of *France*; these Fathers concurring also on their

part, to deceive and stupifie the Catholick Princes, under pretence of conversion and explaining Heresie. The Jesuites being called the Pillars of the Church, their testimony is of great weight. To delude the Jesuites therein the better, the King only follows their Counsel, to persecute the *Huguenots* in his Kingdom; besides, do you reckon for nothing the hopes that he gives them to settle them, in a little time, in the Territories of Protestant Princes, and States? they have already begun in *England*, they declare that they will not stop there, but will go further, and that the year 1672. will return again. They had already shared their Houses or Colleges; they were to have two in *Amsterdam*, because of its greatness, and in the other Cities proportionably; their new conquest over the Protestants being of great consequence to them, as a Land newly purged. Thus if the King be a friend of the Jesuites, it is not through a motive of Religion, but of Interest and Fear.

What mark of Catholickship had the King of *France* when he made a League with *Cromwell* to take the *Low Countries*, and to drive *Charles* II. the lawfull Successour to the Crown of *England*, out of this Kingdom, who in his heart was a good Catholick, though afterwards for publick reasons, he was obliged to seem otherwise?

Again, what mark of Catholickship is there in a Prince that assists Count *Tekely*, and that is in League with the *Turks* against the Emperour, in a King that forbis, throughout his Kingdom, the Bishops and Curates to cause *Te Deum laudamus* to be sung for the Victories of the Christians over the *Turks*, and that hinders, by the witchcraft of his money, the King of *Poland* from prosecuting the War, on his side against the same Infidels, to give them means to employ all the *Ottoman* Forces against the Emperour, and to compell him to abandon those Countries that he hath acquired at the price of so much Christian Blood?

What Catholickship can you find in the King's proceedings against the Cities of *Genoua*, and *Orange*, where he hath no Right? Hence it appears, by all that I have now alledged, that this Name of Most Christian, and of a zealous Catholick, that the King affects, is only a deceitful Mask of Hypocrasie to delude the Catholick Princes, to the end he may play his pranks the better, and make himself Master of them, one after another. And if the King of *England* should have a mind to hinder him, he alone being best able to doe it, and should cause the People of the Church of *England* to be raised against him, he would send them Money and Officers,

as

as he did to *Cromwell*. Insomuch that it may be said of the King of *France*, that he makes himself all things to all; when his Interest is concerned, he enters in League with the *Turks*, *Huguonots*, *Gentiles*, or *Pagans*, even against the Catholicks themselves, if it be requisite for the promoting his Grandure, and for the attaining to the Universal Monarchy of *Europe*. Behold the true Religion of the King, and the present Politick Constitution of *France*.

FINIS.